

## marines killed in Beirut

**Beirut itself was rocked by explosions as Shia Moslem guerrillas attacked army positions.**

# Reagan warns Syria of further reprisals after U.S. air raid

## Israel denies collusion with U.S. against Syria

**BEIRUT.** — U.S. warplanes struck back at Syrian anti-aircraft batteries in Lebanon for the first time yesterday.

Ayman Alwar, a Lebanese photographer on assignment for the

"We're on condition one," he said, referring to the marines' highest alert. "We are not studying

and Arbañiyeh, which are about midway between Beirut and the farthest of the target cities. He said

## Amblatt promises to lift siege of Deir al-Kamar

will continue con- siderations of the four- ing to the mul- keeping force in- ain, Italy, France ss with the Inter- ss to prepare for- back page)

## ubarak again blasts S-Israel accord

now become an Arab nation and of our Zionist said.

## Histadrut goes it alone on C-o-L

After the meeting, Histadrut  
(Continued on back page)

## Syria links U.S. air strike to Reagan-Shamir accord

A similar position was taken yesterday by Syria's super-power sponsor, the Soviet Union, with Moscow Radio connecting "the escalation of the fighting by the U.S. and Israel in Lebanon with the new strategic agreement reached during

## Reagan reaffirms U.S. friendship

He made no mention during his speech of the U.S. commitment to international law, or of yesterday's downing of two American

## Arafat wants to base PLO in Cairo

RO (Reuter). — PLO chairman Yasser Arafat was quoted yesterday saying he would like to move his headquarters to Egypt.

Arafat said in an interview with the weekly political review *Rose al-Yousef*: "I wish I could move my headquarters to Cairo."

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak told reporters on Saturday that Arafat is welcome to come to Egypt, but government officials here stressed that this implied the setting up of a Palestine Liberation Organization headquarters in the Egyptian capital.

Arafat and 4,000 PLO fighters are being closer to Lebanon last night. The UN Security Council has demanded the withdrawal of the UN force from Lebanon.

The flag was hoisted in the PLO headquarters in Tripoli, and the PLO guaranteed Arafat's safety in the city as a condition for his return to the city. Forces from Tripoli were sent to the city.

## No progress reported in ending port strike

**By YITZHAK OKED  
AND YA'ACOV FRIEDLER**

**AVIV.**— While talks to  
save the stevedores' go-slow  
remained deadlocked last  
week, farmers were threatening to  
close the ports and load their  
produce themselves on ships for ex-  
port.

The Histadrut-affiliated  
cultural organizations, however,  
opposed against such action. They  
warned militant farmers that while they  
could harm the harm to exports created  
by the eight-day-old go-slow strike,  
stevedores have legitimate pay

demands that must be met.

Farmers say they  
had to destroy \$500,000 of  
port fruits and vegetables  
of the strike, and the  
strike had been halted.

Stevedores at the  
ports are "working  
under duress," the  
means moving a  
on and off the  
demanding an in-  
basic wage.

Representatives  
stevedores, the Po-  
histadrut, the  
compromise on the

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ts Authority and  
trying to reach a  
issue yesterday, .

The Shippers' Council, which represents importers and exporters, objects to the deposit. Yesterday the council asked the finance minister to intervene to stop the strike and save the country's exports.

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**By ROBERT ROSENBERG**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The three sergeants are apparently involved for transporting prisoners and supplies to Seban's flat. Their cooperation in the inquiry apparently led to the dropping of a police request for a remand order against them last Friday.

By PAUL KOHN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

day, the two men talked about the Greek Catholic bishops and clergymen who were jailed with them, about the men who suffered beatings and those who attempted suicide.

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The group is staying in Haifa for two days and will then walk through Nazareth and Galilee to Jerusalem, from where the pilgrims will walk to Bethlehem. After Christmas, each will go his or her own way.

Hospital management is to meet this week with Health Minister Eliezer Shostak to press its appeal for financial aid. Misgav Ladach is a private hospital and has so far not received any government money, a situation its management says must change if the hospital is to be able to call back its workers and resume functioning fully. (Iim)

The committee, representing 1,500 nurses and other workers with the exception of doctors, declared a labour dispute two months ago after its demands for more staff were rejected by the Ministry.

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

**Pessah Grupper.**  
In June 1982, an agreement was signed between Agridov and Egypt's General Organization of Agriculture Production to cultivate part of a farm in the Nile delta. The Dutch government is also participating in the project.

Pakod (Chief Inspector) Ito Cichanover is accused of broadcasting questions during the mathematics and Bible matriculation exams to an accomplice, who then radioed back the answers. The alleged exchange was accidentally overheard by an amateur radio operator, who recorded it.

Cichanover's attorney argues that the recording of the alleged cheating was made in violation of the laws against bugging, and is thus inadmissible evidence. Magistrate Court Judge Eliezer Cohen said yesterday he will rule on the admissibility of the recording at a later date.

Judge Victoria Ostrovski-Cohen said in passing sentence that Tooley could not have been an unwitting courier of the drug, but deserved consideration because of her familial status. Tooley is the mother of three children, one of whom suffers from cancer and the remaining two live in an orphanage.

By YITZHAK OKED  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Lewis is reported to have hinted in his talk that then prime minister Menachem Begin was not being invited to Washington because of U.S. dissatisfaction with Sharon's policies in Lebanon and with his criticism of the U.S.

**By HAIM SHAPIRO**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Spain had some 26 million tourists last year. Some 12,000 to 15,000 Spaniards visited Israel, and about 40,000 Israelis visited Spain during 1982.

**SAFAD (Itim).** — Two cases of rabies were diagnosed over the weekend among cows belonging to residents of the Arab village of Akbara near here. Veterinary authorities believe the disease is being carried by wild foxes and have warned residents to fence in their herds or risk having cattle destroyed.

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**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

Vance's visit here is to include meetings with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, President Chaim Herzog and other top officials, as well as a closed academic discussion at the new Dayan Centre and opportunities to tour the country. It is part of a larger Middle Eastern tour, which began with a visit to Egypt as the guest of President Hosni Mubarak and is to continue with a visit to Jordan as King Hussein's guest.

By LEA LEVAVI  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The pupils will participate in activities three days a week after school, one day a week on the university campus and the other two at their own schools, local public libraries or elsewhere in the community. The project will work with these pupils up to their matricula-

Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad and Communications Minister Mordecai Zipori told the cabinet yesterday that they have agreed to the registration in *Reshumot* (official gazette) of the Bezek public communications company on condition that

Representatives of both ministries will meet on the issue. Last Thursday night, Communications Ministry engineers blacked out TV for an hour because of delays in establishing the company



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## French march against racism may yield new equality laws

PARIS (Reuters). — France is to toughen anti-racist laws after a march for equality ended Saturday in a rally attracting 60,000 in Paris, officials said.

Junior Minister for Social Affairs Georgina Dufoix said she would ask parliament for special credits to fund anti-racist campaigns.

Justice Minister Robert Badinter will draft a law defining racist violence as a crime and enabling anti-racist organizations to initiate court proceedings in such cases, officials added.

Saturday's rally was the climax of a 1,200-kilometre anti-racist march which began two months ago in Marseilles with little publicity and 30 demonstrators, half of them French and half of them children of North African immigrants.

In seven weeks, three government ministers joined the march,

some 700 writers and academics expressed support and Moslem, Christian and Jewish leaders backed the demonstration.

Marchers on the final leg from Place de la Bastille, in eastern Paris, to Montparnasse, in the south of the capital, included External Relations Minister Claude Cheysson, Cultural Affairs Minister Jack Lang and Junior Environment Minister Hugues Bouchardeau.

Most political parties on the left and the main unions called on their supporters to take part in the final march, while opposition leaders said they would stay away.

The idea for the march came to Toumi Djaidja, a young Algerian, as he was recovering in hospital after being shot when he intervened in a fight at a housing estate outside Lyons.

## S. Korea catches 2 'agents,' sinks 'spy boat from North'

SEOUL (AP). — South Korean authorities said yesterday that two "armed agents" were captured and what they described as a North Korean spy boat sunk near the southern port city of Pusan.

They said a large amount of equipment was seized from the two men who were apprehended while swimming to shore on the outskirts of Pusan in frogmen's gear.

The two swimmers were detected by South Korean Army guards on the shoreline of South Korea's main port, 352 kilometres south of Seoul, the officials said.

They were captured late Saturday

night, and about 20 minutes later, South Korean Navy and Air Force units spotted what they said was a North Korean spy boat seeking to flee the area.

The South Korean forces attacked and sank the boat, authorities said. They did not give a size or type of the vessel, nor did they say if there were any casualties inflicted. There were no casualties on the South Korean side.

The two men captured were said to have suffered slight injuries when seized and were hospitalized in Pusan.

## Vatican wants to mediate in stalled nuclear arms talks

ROME (AP). — Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, the Vatican's secretary of state, said yesterday the Holy See wants to "mediate" between the U.S. and the Soviet Union about reviving their talks on limiting medium-range nuclear arms in Europe.

"It (the church) seeks to mediate between the two parties, bringing together the positions and clarifying misunderstandings," Casaroli told reporters.

"I am convinced that the Holy See has this possibility, because despite its extreme weakness in the military and political field, it enjoys a place of moral prestige in the world that makes dialogue possible," he said.

The cardinal, the No. 2 man at the Vatican, gave no details.

Last week after returning from

Washington, he said the Vatican would not get involved in "mediations in the technical sense" on specific issues. Rather, the Holy See seeks to be a conduit for expressions of good will, he said.

Casaroli told reporters he was pessimistic about obtaining positive results because "the conflict was too strong."

"However, I repeat, I think it is possible that this approach will happen," he said in apparent reference to Vatican mediation efforts.

The Soviets walked out of the medium-range arms talks on November 23 when the first of NATO's 572 cruise and Pershing 2 missiles began arriving in Western Europe. But talks between the superpowers on limiting long-range nuclear weapons have continued.

## Soviet industry switching to team incentive-pay system

MOSCOW (Reuters). — The Soviet leadership yesterday called for a speedup in the introduction of a new labour system making workers' wages more closely dependent on their performance.

A decree issued by the Communist Party and the government said the so-called "team contract" system has proved highly successful in raising productivity and should be quickly applied to all sectors of industry. But ministries, regional authorities and trade unions must insure it is put into effect much more rapidly, it said.

Under the system, workers have to form teams that receive a group payment for their labour from factory managers. The workers then decide among themselves how to share out the money.

The group's income is heavily dependent on its output or productivity levels, and the government

decree said this has led to a cutback in wasted manpower and some sharp increases in efficiency.

The team contract system has been operating on a very limited scale for several years, but since Yuri Andropov took power as Communist Party leader a year ago, there has been a drive to introduce it in both manufacturing industry and agriculture.

In the past, the method has met with strong resistance from ideological hardliners who saw it as a return to a capitalist-style wage system based solely on financial incentives.

There has also been opposition from managers and regional officials, who see it as a dilution of their control over the workers, and from the workers themselves, who often prefer the comfort of a guaranteed monthly salary.

## Kuomintang wins big in Taiwan voting

TAIPEI (Reuters). — Taiwan's ruling Nationalist (Kuomintang) Party won a landslide victory in Saturday's partial parliamentary election, with opposition candidates capturing nine of the 71 seats being contested.

The result was seen as a foregone conclusion because of firm Kuomintang support from its two million members, the military, and civil servants.

Loosely-bound opposition groups, mostly native Taiwanese, ran on a platform opposing martial law and demanding the right to form new political parties. Among their winning candidates was Xan Su-min, whose husband was jailed for sedition after anti-government

riots in 1979.

Partial parliamentary elections have been held every three years since 1969 as more seats are added to the legislative Yuan (parliament) due to rising population.

21 burned to death in Bogota bus crash

BOGOTA (AP). — Twenty-one passengers were burned to death early Sunday when a bus crashed against a utility pole and caught fire in Bogota, Colombian police said.

The police report said four other persons suffered injuries, and one person apparently was unharmed. Witnesses told authorities the bus was travelling at high speed.

## Fossils indicate 'new ancestor' of humans

NAIROBI (Reuters). — An anthropologist on Saturday displayed a handful of 17-million-year-old "missing link" fossils that may oblige scientists to revise long-held theories about the earliest ancestors of apes and humans.

Kenyan Richard Leakey showed reporters at the Nairobi Museum pieces of the jaw of an ape-like creature that inhabited what were then tropical forests in northern Kenya between 18 and 20 million years ago.

"It is quite dramatic," he told a news conference. It shows that a distinct species of ape existed at the same time as the proconsul ape, hitherto thought to be the earliest ancestor of all primates and man.

"The reason that we are so intrigued is that we have all grown accustomed to thinking that proconsul

is the common stem," Leakey said. "But here we have a clear case of something that is so different that there can be no serious discussion of this being a variant."

He said the discovery "establishes that the separation between African and Asian apes, until now thought to have occurred around 12 million years ago, must be pushed back at least to 17 million years."

According to conventional theory, proconsul is the base from which two lines tracing human development can be drawn, starting about 20 million years ago.

One line traces the development of human-type creatures in Asia through an early form of orang-utan, the other through African apes. Leakey said his find closely resembled orang-utans and fossilized

## Protesters hit Pershing site

SCHWABISCH GMUEND, West Germany (AP). — Four people, including an American priest, slipped onto a U.S. Army base yesterday morning and damaged a Pershing missile transport, authorities said.

Armed guards surrounded the four about 15 minutes after they cut through a fence shortly after 8 a.m. and began bashing the transport and a truck with crowbars and other tools, West German police and army officials said.

No shots were fired, according to officials at U.S. Army Europe headquarters in Heidelberg.

The saboteurs "smashed windows and cut the hydraulic lines" on the vehicles, said an army spokeswoman. No estimate of the damage was available, but the transport, she said, was worth about \$150,000.

An anti-nuclear group called Plowshares claimed responsibility for the attack in a telephone call.

## Skylab mission extended by one day

HOUSTON (AP). — The "very successful" Skylab 1 mission will be extended by one day, weather permitting, to give more time to perform experiments, U.S. space agency officials said Saturday.

A joint announcement by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and its Skylab 1 partner, the European Space Agency, said the mission would be extended one day, for a landing scheduled for Thursday at Edwards Air Force Base, California.

"That's good news," pilot Brewster Shaw said when told of the plan.

Shaw immediately asked that the astronauts be allowed time for taking more pictures during the extra day, particularly the four scientists working in the Skylab in the cargo bay of the shuttle Columbia. The astronauts spent Saturday conducting medical experiments, taking pictures of distant stars and repairing equipment.

## Trudeau ends tour of Persian Gulf

KUWAIT (Reuters). — Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau left Kuwait yesterday at the end of a five-day Gulf tour seeking support for his peace initiative and expanding bilateral relations.

Trudeau has put forward proposals for easing world tension, calling for direct talks among the nuclear powers, the U.S., the Soviet Union, France, Britain and China.

Before leaving Kuwait, Trudeau met members of the Kuwait Chamber of Commerce and representatives of the Kuwait Investment Company to seek their help in increasing investment in Canada and encouraging the setting up of joint ventures, trade sources said.

## Ugandan Air Force chief among crash victims

NAIROBI, Kenya (AP). — A helicopter crash last Friday night which took the life of Uganda's army chief of staff, Maj. Gen. David Oyite-Ojok, also killed the East African nation's air force chief, Radio Uganda disclosed yesterday.

Besides Oyite-Ojok, the radio said the crash killed Lt. Col. Alfred Otoo, director of Uganda's small air force, Lt. Col. Wilson Okwona, commander of the military hospital, Maj. Stephen Abili, director of engineering, Capt. Harry Oloch, the helicopter pilot, Lt. John Kirago Katoo, a staff officer, and Staff Sgt. Chris Kamar.

The radio said the names of the two remaining victims would be announced after their next of kin are informed.

## 6,200 Somalia youths join mass campaign

MOGADISHU, Somalia (AP). — More than 6,200 secondary school graduates left here yesterday to take part in Somalia's biggest voluntary movement since a 1974 literacy campaign.

The youth, whose nine-month stints will exempt them from next year's military conscription quota, will join government programmes registering others for army service, teaching Arabic, collecting taxes, immunizing villagers and stopping trade in marijuana which was banned last March.

## Sport

### Hard-hearted Venetians

Post Sports Staff  
Carrera of Venice are ada that they will not allow Ma Ramat Gan's basketball squ remain in the Korac Cup, bec of the appalling error of send single telegram announcing withdrawal for financial reason. Flurry of telegrams and telep calls over the weekend fail move the Venetians, who rema hard-hearted as Portia in *Merchant of Venice*.

FIBA, responsible for i national basketball, is prepar allow the retraction, if all elu the group agree. Two have dr but the Italians will not relea. Since dispatching the rash a considered telegram, Macrab raised the \$60,000 needed to t three overseas Korac Cup g; but apparently the Israeli's realize that their notice wa revocable, and not just the ki ploy made to pry money out i government.

### Scoring spree

LANDOVER, Maryland (AF) Ricky Sobers scored 29 point ignited a 16-2 Washington s spree that helped the Bullets Philadelphia's six-game wi streak with a 103-98 Nat Basketball Association victo Saturday night. Washington, broke a three-game losing ; without the services of its le scorer and rebounder, Jef R who did not dress due to a so hand.

In New York, Bernard scored a game-high 31 point Bill Cartwright added 22 as th York Knicks streaked to fourth straight victory and , consecutive win at home with 101 decision over the Hc Rockets. King's scoring spree points in the third quarter trig the Knicks to a 95-82 lead goir the final period.

In Pontiac, Michigan, Kelly Trips Cliff Levingston ignited a Detroit rally the Pistons outscored the Ho through the first quarter and send them way to a 117-99 victory over the Tripskas scored 10 points and Levingst the Detroit rally that built a 10-9 Pist into a 28-9 lead.

In Atlanta, Eddie Johnson scored 2 including 12 in the fourth quarter, Atlanta to a 102-91 win over the C Cavaliers, thus snapping a three-ga streak. The Hawks trailed 72-68 going fourth quarter, but Johnson started i clock with a field goal and Doudle put Atlanta ahead to stay at 85-84 with on two free throws.

### Seeds surprised

MELBOURNE (Reuters). — British D player John Lloyd rose to the challa great slam event for the second time when he ousted American 14th se Denton in the third round of the Austrai sis Open at Kooyung yesterday. Lloyd, set the seedings in the U.S. Open in Sep reaching the quarter-finals, best Denton ing finalist here for the past two years, 6-3.

Brian Teacher of the U.S., seeded 1 bowed out of the tournament after a tou against the young Australian Davis Cup Gals, who won 6-4, 7-6, 6-7, 2-6, 7-6. Meanwhile, the top two seeds, Ivan Czechoslovakia and American John M moved one round closer to the final in w are seeded to meet. Leadi bear Americ Fleming 6-7, 7-6, 6-4, 6-7, 2-6, 7-6. deeded India's Ramesh Krishnan 6-4, 7-6, 6-4.

In the women's event, former champ Mandlikova of Czechoslovakia was i withdrawal, when she pulled a muscle groin during her centre court slugs on American Sharon Walsh and was forced

### Israeli rankings

By JACK LEON  
Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Israel's junior tennis c Amos Mansour, 18, is in 25th pla latest Association of Tennis Professi singles rankings. He has thus climb 1 up the ladder, from 40th place, by finishing as runner-up in the recent 525 tournament in Helsinki, Finland. The chides a total of more than 1,000 play rankings based on results over the pre season.

Shimon Glickstein has dropped down place in the singles rankings, while he the doubles. Shimon Perle is 29th in i standings, having climbed 166 plac ladder in less than three months — an the doubles.

### Basketball

Tonight's National League game: K. Motzkin vs. Upper Galilee Holon vs. Afeka Bnei TA vs. Macc. TA Macc. RG vs. Macc. Darom.

### Bezek Cricket

Victoria 555 for 5 dec. (Graham Val Mick Taylor 111 not out). Pakistan 311 for 5 (Mansoor Naz Javed Mansoor, 85, Qasim Omar 79.

### Marathon stoics

FUKUOKA (Reuters). — Japan's Toshi overcame a leg injury to best Joun the Tokyo in the last 100 metres in Fukuoka International marathon yest the fourth time. Scho, 27, clocked a tim hours, eight minutes, 57 seconds. Hany who had led the race from the start, wa in 2:08:55.

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# Visiting Firemen

## Gemayel Gets A Pep Talk And Shamir Gets a Deal

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

**P**RESIDENT Amin Gemayel of Lebanon came to Washington last week hoping the United States would have some answers to the problem of putting his country back together again. He is returning to Beirut with sobering news. The Reagan Administration had some modest suggestions such as the formation of joint economic and military committees to facilitate aid requests. But it had no sure solution for ridding Lebanon of the Syrians, who control 80 percent of the territory, or the Israelis, who dominate 30 percent. It had no panacea for reconciling the divided factions, or for reviving the crumbling economy. Mostly what the Americans did was to encourage Mr. Gemayel to hang in and try to be a leader of a nation, not just of downtown Beirut.

Americans officials, frustrated over the inability of the Arabs to pressure Syria into matching the Israeli agreement to withdraw, and determined to forge a close relationship with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel, who preceded Mr. Gemayel here last week, said that they had "no grand plan, no magical wand" for Lebanon's problems. The view from here, reinforced by the high-level talks with the Israelis, is that Mr. Gemayel must widen his political base, expand his army's control of the countryside, and act more "presidential."

For some time, many American officials have lamented what they regarded as Mr. Gemayel's lack of leadership. They believe he has been slow in trying to forge a government of national reconciliation, and in ordering his American-trained army to move out and show the national flag beyond Beirut's city limits. But there was also some sympathy for Mr. Gemayel, a man thrust into the presidency only because his brother, Bashir, was assassinated. He is being asked to do what may be impos-

sible—stand up to the Syrians, negotiate with the Israelis, and remain on good terms with the irreconcilable Lebanese ethnic and religious groups.

Lebanon's disarray dates from the civil war of the 1970's but is now worse than ever. The country is in a state of virtual partition between Israel and Syria. The northern city of Tripoli is being decimated by warring Palestinian militias. The once proud Lebanese economy is at its lowest ebb. The only hopeful sign for Mr. Gemayel is that the United States, despite its protestations that the Lebanon problem should be solved by Lebanese, must make an effort too. Lebanon has become a major political problem for President Reagan, who is expected

to announce his candidacy for re-election next month. Some 2,000 marines are stuck indefinitely in the outskirts of Beirut, with little likelihood of their being withdrawn until a semblance of stability is established. Priority is being given to finding a formula to do that.

The United States is counting on a mixture of firmness and conciliation to produce results. The firmness is to be provided by the American Sixth Fleet offshore, along with the French and British ships, the continued presence of the multinational force, and the newly declared strategic cooperation with Israel. During Prime Minister Shamir's three days in Washington, the Administration approved a series of concessions to the Israelis

President Reagan, Lebanese President Amin Gemayel and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir

and announced the formation of a joint political-military committee that is to coordinate military planning, joint exercises, and stockpiling of American military equipment in Israel.

Beyond the specifics, the most important result of the talks was the American-Israeli agreement to coordinate policy more closely and to seek ways of bolstering the Gemayel Government to put it into a position to achieve the withdrawal of foreign forces.

Israel, no less than the United States, would like to withdraw its troops from Lebanon. But the Israelis say they have to be sure that the security of their northern borders is ensured, and that the Lebanese do not yield to Syrian pressure and abrogate the Israeli-Lebanese agreement signed on May 17. The agreement was negotiated by Secretary of State George P. Shultz and allows the Israelis some political and economic gains in Lebanon once Israeli troops are pulled out. Mr. Gemayel has been under pressure from the Syrians and from his Lebanese adversaries to drop or alter the accord and an accompanying letter that permits Israel to keep its troops in Lebanon until Syria agrees to withdraw in tandem.

### A Test for Syria

But Mr. Reagan told the Lebanese leader that neither the United States nor Israel favors changing the May 17 agreement. In fact, Washington would like to see closer cooperation between Mr. Gemayel's Government and the Israelis to demonstrate to the Syrians that their efforts to cancel the accord will not work. In Washington's view, if Syrian pressure produces the cancellation or revision of the accord, this will only encourage the Syrians to remain inflexible and to believe that they can force Israel out without doing anything themselves.

Mr. Shamir, after his meetings with Mr. Reagan, said Israel was hoping for closer cooperation not only with the United States, but with the Gemayel Government as well, to deter the Syrians and create such a situation in which it will not be necessary to keep in Lebanon any foreign forces, including the multinational force, Israeli military forces, and of course, Syrian forces. One way this closer Israeli-Lebanese cooperation can be carried out is through Israeli encouragement to the Lebanese Army to take over an increasing share of security in areas now controlled by the Israelis in the south. The Israelis also can use their leverage on some Druze and Shiite groups to be more cooperative with the Gemayel Government.

Along with this firmness, Washington wants to test Syria's political intentions and see whether, as the Saudi Arabians contend, Syria is actually interested in an independent Lebanon. The Syrians, who have always regarded Lebanon as in their sphere of influence, dominate the major Druze and Shiite groups involved in the national reconciliation talks in Geneva with Mr. Gemayel. Washington, noting that the Syrians have let the talks proceed so far, is urging Mr. Gemayel to grant these Syrian groups a significant share of political power, not only to end the civil warfare, but also to demonstrate good will to the Syrians. If pro-Syrian groups hold important posts in the Lebanese Government, this should ease Syrian concerns about "losing Lebanon" to the Israelis and Americans, Washington officials believe. But if the Syrians reject a good-faith effort at reconciliation by Mr. Gemayel, then it would show that they want "the whole loaf" in Lebanon, an official said, and this would prolong the impasse.

## Major News

### In Summary

#### Assassination Sets Off More Beirut Tension

An assassination in Beirut last week reminded all the players in the Lebanese drama of the tenuousness of the cease-fire that had calmed the factional fighting since Sept. 26. Visits to Washington by Lebanese President Amin Gemayel and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir stressed the "genuine sense of urgency" about the situation and the need for political solutions.

An unknown gunman entered the West Beirut home of a prominent Druze, Sheikh Halim Takkiedin, head of the Supreme Druze Religious Court, and murdered him. Druze leader Walid Jumblatt, who spends most of his time in Damascus since he narrowly escaped assassination a year ago, vowed vengeance and Beirut, under dusk-to-dawn curfew, tensed for more fighting. The cease-fire had begun to break down before the assassination as Druze and Lebanese Army artillery traded rounds and the airport once again had to be closed. Another member of the French peacekeeping force—the 77th—died, the victim of an ambush that appeared also to be an act of revenge, this time for the French shelling Nov. 17 of Moslem Shiite positions. An Israeli soldier died and four were wounded in an ambush in the southern Lebanese town of Nabatiyah, and Israeli planes retaliated against Syrian-backed Moslem groups in the Shuf. The Israeli command claimed "accurate hits" on

the bases of "several terrorist organizations." French jets were also in the air, locating artillery batteries threatening French positions.

A ceasefire in the northern port of Tripoli seemed to be holding up no better. Rival Palestinian forces traded artillery rounds again and Yasir Arafat, the P.L.O. chairman, who has agreed in principle to leave Tripoli with what is left of his forces, demanded the protection of the United Nations flag during the evacuation by sea because, an Arafat spokesman explained, the Israeli Navy was "blockading" the port. While negotiations for the departure remained went on, the Security Council voted unanimously yesterday after two days of closed-door debate to allow the Arafat forces to leave under both U.N. and Lebanese flags. Ships provided by Saudi Arabia were expected to take the 4,000 to 5,000 Palestinians to Tunisia.

With the United States Marine force around the Beirut airport "humked down" in positions that were more secure but also more isolated from the population, the Administration sought ways to break out of the impasse. Mr. Shamir left Washington with pledges of closer political and military cooperation. He also got renewed support for the evacuation agreement Israel made with Lebanon in May. President Gemayel, who had sought changes in the agreement to make it more acceptable to Syria and the factions it is backing, got some pledges of continuing financial and military support but mainly encouragement to be both strong and conciliatory. He said he hoped "we'll be able to accom-

plish some very important things within a few weeks," but he did not elaborate. (King Hussein of Jordan says he is ready to negotiate peace, page 3.)

#### Reagan Breaks String on Aid

For some time, President Reagan has been riddled by his semiannual duty to certify progress on human rights and land reform in El Salvador as a condition for continuing military aid. Last week, he got rid of the obligation by killing a bill extending the certification requirement.

The President's action, in a pocket veto, might prove embarrassing to Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering and American-supported moderates in El Salvador. With White House approval, Mr. Pickering had publicly condemned the recent surge of killings by right-wing death squads, warning the Salvadoran Government on Nov. 25 that by failing to crack down, it "runs an extremely serious risk" of causing a cutoff of American aid. Four days later, the Administration announced it was denying an entry visa to Roberto d'Aubuisson, the president of the Salvadoran Constituent Assembly, who has been linked to right-wing terrorism. But the subsequent veto of the certification requirement sends a different signal; officials in Washington and Salvadoran politicians from moderate parties said it could be interpreted in El Salvador as tacit White House approval for right-wing terrorism, which the Administration at the same time continued to condemn. Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth W. Dam told a Miami conference on trade and investment in the Caribbean that right-wing terrorists in El Salvador and Guatemala were largely responsible for Marxist successes in the Caribbean region.

President Reagan, explaining his

action on the certification bill during a question-and-answer session with high school students, said: "We know there are right-wing assassins and murder squads and so forth. We are doing everything we can to control that. I don't think this bill would help." Having to certify progress in human rights every few months, he argued, would tell the Salvadoran right and left that if they step up the violation of human rights "so that we cannot certify, they—on whichever side—are helping to win their battle against the democratic Government."

Secretary of State George P. Shultz said the certification process had produced artificial efforts to "manipulate facts" and was "a form of detailed management across a wide range of somebody else's country." Congressional Democrats condemned the action and said they would try to revive the requirement next year in a military appropriation bill, which would be difficult to veto. Meanwhile, another bill that took

effect last month would withhold 30 percent of the \$64 million in military aid for El Salvador this year unless a court reaches a verdict in the case of four American churchwomen murdered three years ago.

The criticism of Salvadoran lapses by Ambassador Pickering and other Administration officials was beginning to show at least partial results. Gen. Eugenio Vides Casanova, the Defense Minister, transferred Salvadoran military officials suspected of human rights abuses, including the intelligence chiefs of the Treasury Police and the National Police. The National Police then announced the arrest of three security policemen at the Constituent Assembly on charges of kidnapping a businessman.

#### Spacelab Gets Up to Business

After keeping fingers crossed and pocketbooks open for a decade, European nations finally saw their \$1

billion Spacelab carried into orbit last week by the shuttle Columbia. The bus-sized cannister, chockablock with experiments, sent a torrent of data back to earth.

"Columbia is America's dream—if that dream doesn't work, ours won't either," the director of Spacelab's prime contractor in West Germany said in 1981. At week's end, the mission had developed a few kinks—the film jammed in a special mapping camera and an electron gun failed—but things were still going well enough to help heal some of the diplomatic wounds caused by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's low struggle with shuttle development. West Germans picked up more than half of Spacelab's cost and also placed a Stuttgart physicist on board this premier flight.

Of 71 experiments scheduled for the nine-day mission, one designed by French scientists provided an early highlight: first observation ever of deuterium, a form of hydrogen, in the upper atmosphere. Scientists hope to use the element as a tracer in determining the rush of gases in that poorly understood region. A string of biomedical tests on the human effects of weightlessness went well, though American scientist-astronaut Dr. Robert A. Parker was plainly annoyed by zealous queries from the ground. "You guys should recognize," he radioed, "that there are two people up here trying to get all your work done. I think you might be quiet until we get one or the other of them done." Officials conceded the schedule might have been too crowded.

A critical link between scientists in orbit and on earth was the \$100 million Tracking and Data Relay Satellite, which had been nudged into proper orbit after being launched away from the shuttle Challenger earlier this year. NASA spokesmen said the satellite, recently plagued by multiple failures, was performing satisfactorily—minus a valuable high-speed transmission channel.

#### White House battle of wills and won'ts

4





# The World

## Where East And West Still Meet

Soviet-American relations stayed bad last week, but not all bad. In the absence of the Soviet leader, Yuri V. Andropov, who hasn't been seen in public for more than three months, the Kremlin appeared to be proceeding cautiously. Despite the suspension at Soviet insistence of discussions on medium-range missiles in Europe, the other Geneva talks — on strategic weapons — continued in two sessions, with another meeting set for Tuesday.

In Moscow, Marshal Nikolai V. Ogarkov, chief of the general staff, scheduled a rare news conference tomorrow on missiles, setting off speculation about whether the military was moving into a vacuum in the Kremlin or just covering for the absent Mr. Andropov, who is thought to be ill. There was also speculation about whether Mr. Andropov would reappear later this month at a delayed winter session of the Central Committee and Soviet Parliament.

According to West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Mr. Andropov left the door open in a letter "to reconsider and possibly revise" the suspension of the medium-range missile talks. But Pravda, the Soviet party paper, ridiculed Mr. Kohl's interpretation as "shameless decep-



Marshal Nikolai V. Ogarkov

tion." The Russians walked out when the United States began deploying cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in NATO countries to counter Soviet SS-20 missiles in Europe. Soviet Gen. Yuri Lebedev warned of retaliation. He said new Russian "operational-tactical" weapons with extended range "in East Germany and Czechoslovakia could knock out all the cruises and Pershings in Europe. Soviet missile submarines, he added, would be moved closer to the United States. However, each side appeared to be trying to maneuver the other into moving to merge the suspended talks with the continuing discussions on strategic weapons.

On the American side, an aide to Secretary of State George P. Shultz said that high-level Soviet-American talks would be a "logical" development next month in Stockholm. Mr. Shultz indicated he would be attending an East-West conference on disarmament on Jan. 17 and might meet Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko.

President Reagan, meanwhile, agreed to proceed with development of new weapons intended to shoot down enemy missiles, but he put off decisions on the pace and spending levels. White House security officials were told the Russians were making a "rather phenomenal effort" in this field. The current Reagan budget includes \$1.8 billion for research related to the new weapons, but some scientists and strategists have expressed doubt about their technical feasibility and others have warned they might dangerously complicate the arms race.

## Bonn Minister Stands Accused

The Bundestag lifted the parliamentary immunity of Economics Minister Otto Lambsdorff last week, clearing the way for his indictment in one of the biggest scandals of West Germany's 34-year history. Mr. Lambsdorff, an important figure in the now-strained ruling coalition, is accused of accepting bribes from one of the country's most powerful concerns.

He was charged with taking \$50,000 in 1977 and 1980 from the Flick industrial conglomerate in return for approving tax concessions on capital gains realized by Flick in the sale of Daimler-Benz stock in 1975. Mr. Lambsdorff's predecessor as Economics Minister, Hans Friderich, chairman of the Dresdner Bank, was charged with accepting \$140,000 from Flick from 1975 to 1977.

Both are members of the Free Democratic Party, the junior partner in the coalition with the Christian Democrats. They denied the charges. Mr. Lambsdorff, one of the brightest members of the cabinet, declared, "I am neither dishonest nor stupid enough to jeopardize my personal, political and professional existence by sticking money into my pockets like that." He was backed by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, leader of the Free Democrats, and by the coalition leader, Chancellor Helmut Kohl. But Mr. Lambsdorff was expected to resign if an examining magistrate decided that federal prosecutors had enough evidence to warrant a trial.

The prosecutors, who investigated the case for two years, say the transactions took place when the party was allied in government with the Social Democrats; they suggested the money was taken more to help the Free Democrats than for personal enrichment. Premier Franz Josef Strauss of Bavaria, a strong critic of the party and of Mr. Genscher, took advantage of its political embarrassment to push his claims for a greater voice in national policy. Mr. Strauss heads the Bavarian version of the Christian Democrats and has sought the foreign minister's post.

National economic policy was also thrown into doubt by the scandal. Mr. Lambsdorff, a strong advocate of free enterprise and minimum government intervention, has come under fire from businessmen who need help to weather the recession. He has also pushed trade with Eastern Europe and was critical of the Reagan Administration's efforts to disrupt the Soviet project to pipe natural gas to Western Europe.

## Early Election For Japanese

Japan's members of Parliament last week sailed forth to the electoral wars. Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, bowing to opposition party demands, dissolved Parliament six months ahead of the end of its four-year term and set the vote for Dec. 18.

Opposition leaders hoped to capitalize on the conviction of former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, found guilty of accepting \$2.1 million in bribes for arranging purchases of Lockheed aircraft by All Nippon Airways. Mr. Tanaka, who is appealing the verdict, has rejected calls for his resignation. He heads the largest bloc inside the governing Liberal Democratic Party and played a key role in selecting Mr. Nakasone as Prime Minister last year.

Mr. Nakasone sought to dismiss the "morality issue," asserting that "people who are said to be the best politicians" — he mentioned Kennedy and Churchill — "were not the best moralists either."

Political experts predicted the Liberal Democrats would lose ground but keep control of the Government. They now have an edge of 30 seats above the 256 required for a majority in the 511-seat Parliament.

With encouragement from Washington and inadvertent help from Moscow, Mr. Nakasone has increased defense spending, a sensitive issue in Japan. The Russians have helped his case with statements on increasing Moscow's nuclear missile forces in the Far East and the downing of a South Korean airliner with 28 Japanese passengers aboard in September.

## At Home in South Africa

The South African Government struggled last week over what to do with a "black spot" that refused to be eradicated. Several hundred black families in the rural village of Magopla refused to obey a presidential decree ordering them off the land they have owned for 70 years. The villagers — who are surrounded by white communities and thus are known in Government circles as a "black spot" — were supposed to be resettled in a nominally independent black "homeland" 60 miles away. Their refusal to do so, which was widely publicized, so embarrassed the Government that a Tuesday deadline passed without action.

Some villagers said they were worried that they would not be compensated for their homes. Others believe, as one resident said, that they "are better to die here," on land their ancestors bought before laws were passed preventing such purchases by black people.

The Government has pushed resettlement in part because those who move to homelands lose South African citizenship, thus ceding all claim to political rights within the country. The Government's information chief visited Magopla Friday to tell the villagers and the press that the Government was offering "a better life" in the homeland, but the standoff continued.

Henry Glazier  
and Milt Freudenheim

## Indian Rebels Released From Prison Last Week

# Managua Loosens Its Grip, to a Point



Nicaraguan  
Interior Minister  
Tomás Borge

By STEPHEN KINZER

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Sandinista Government stepped up its peace offensive last week at a moment when its political power seems secure but foreign alliances are weakening and economic prospects are poor. Insurgent forces pose only a limited military threat but they have contributed to a climate of extreme internal tension. These pressures, together with the urgings of friendly governments and a growing desire to ease the country's intense economic and social conflicts, are apparently behind Sandinistas' concessions to foreign adversaries — notably the United States — and domestic critics.

In recent weeks, 2,000 or more Cuban civilians and military advisers have left for home. Sandinista leaders are toasting Roman Catholic Bishops, conferring with leaders of opposition political parties, easing censorship and preparing to announce dates for elections in 1985. Interior Minister Tomás Borge said the Government had adopted "a policy of flexibility."

The Reagan Administration, which has been backing anti-Sandinista rebel groups, reacted coolly last week, rejecting Mr. Borge's request for a visa to visit the United States. There is "always a question of whether there is a reality be-

hind the words," Secretary of State George P. Shultz said last week. Domestic critics in Managua have also taken a cautious attitude. "The central question concerns their credibility," one said. "If these are just tactical moves to keep us quiet until they are strong again, we aren't interested. We need more than just words."

Despite the skepticism of their critics, the Sandinistas are clearly speaking in a more conciliatory tone. Venezuelan bishops who visited Managua to show solidarity with anti-Sandinista churchmen were received by the head of the Government, junta coordinator Daniel Ortega Saavedra. Important officials attended a reception for the bishops and their Nicaraguan counterparts; many guests were surprised when the Sandinistas presented gifts to the departing clerics.

The Sandinistas are also planning new overtures toward the private sector, many of whose leaders are bitterly disaffected. When the opposition newspaper La Prensa threatened to close for lack of newsprint, the Government quickly promised to make hard currency available so La Prensa could buy the paper it needed.

Last week, the Government also made overtures toward the Miskito Indian population, freeing 307 Indian rebels from prison and contacting United Nations authorities with an offer to arrange the return from Honduras of 13,000 Miskito

Indians, who had fled Nicaragua.

Sandinista officials have also offered to discuss the expulsion of all foreign military advisers and a freeze on armaments at current levels. These gestures "are not a sign of weakness," the officials insist. Mr. Borge went so far as to declare them "signs of strength, because they show that we are not afraid to be generous."

The Sandinistas are in no immediate military danger. The insurgents have yet to capture a village. Their leaders no longer speak about toppling the regime by force. But the rebels have adopted an effective strategy of economic sabotage, burning crops, blowing up oil storage facilities and wrecking tractors and other heavy equipment. The Sandinistas have come to recognize that rebels may be able to bleed the economy indefinitely. Not all the economic troubles are due to rebel raids, however. Thousands of businessmen have left after concluding that the business climate was hostile. The Sandinistas have not been able to replace their productive capacity. High prices and food shortages are chronic and even Nicaraguans who support the Government are losing patience.

## Foreign Pressure Is Felt

The Sandinistas are also under pressure from abroad. Latin American nations such as Mexico and Venezuela and Western European countries such as France and Spain are warning that Nicaragua risks a ruinous war if concessions are not made. With 6,000 American combat troops on extended maneuvers in neighboring Honduras and powerful American gunboats off the coast, these warnings have taken on new urgency.

"We treat our revolution like a balloon," said a Sandinista official. "Right now, it seems the balloon is full to the point of bursting, so we are letting some of the air out. The tension is beginning to have too much of an effect on our people."

Leaders of the Central Intelligence Agency-backed insurgents met last week in Panama with Presidential envoy Richard B. Stone. They jointly called on the Sandinistas to open negotiations with rebel forces. But in Managua, Mr. Ortega rejected the offer. "The Revolutionary Government is not disposed to sustain a dialogue with counterrevolutionaries," he said. Adolfo Calero, head of the Honduran-based Nicaraguan Democratic Force, said Mr. Ortega's remarks "close the door to a negotiated solution."

Many Western diplomats in Managua fear that the Reagan Administration is asking the Sandinistas to pay so high a price it may diminish prospects for a settlement. They were strongly critical of Washington's decision last week to deny Mr. Borge a visa. "It was a great political error," said a Latin American diplomat whose country has been supporting United States goals in Central America. "People are worrying that Reagan does not know how to play this delicate game of international relations."

Nicaragua lives in fear of an invasion its leaders say could come at any time. Air raid shelters are ready in many backyards, trenches ring factories and teachers urge children to keep a satchel with spare clothes and other essentials beneath their beds so they can flee their homes on short notice. "An invasion would be against all logic," Mr. Borge said recently, "but we cannot assume that the White House and the Pentagon will always act logically."

## Peking Hears Trudeau's Bid for Five-Nation Talks

# China Strongly Favors Disarmament, for Others



Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping with Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau in Peking last week.

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

PEKING — When Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau brought his proposal for a five-nation disarmament conference to Peking last week, he got little more than tea and sympathy. The Chinese leadership praised Mr. Trudeau's efforts but told him the Soviet Union and the United States had to reduce their nuclear weapons first.

China, which many experts rank third as a world nuclear power, is a wild card in the disarmament game. It refuses to be drawn into arms control negotiations or nonproliferation treaties. It protests the deployment of Soviet missiles along its northern frontier, but its own nuclear armaments, which it calls modest and strictly for self-defense, have disconcerted the Kremlin and influenced the Soviet-American strategic arms reduction talks.

China's posture is an extension of its ideological outlook, in which the Soviet Union and the United States both present hegemonic threats. There is no use in discussing disarmament, Peking reasons, until the superpowers start destroying their nuclear weapons. China espouses universal disarmament in theory. But practical doubts were raised recently in the party's theoretical journal Red Flag, which contended it was

"impossible to reduce armed forces and dismantle weapons in a thorough way when imperialism and hegemonism still exist."

China has paid increasing attention to the issue lately. Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian proposed at the United Nations General Assembly in September that the Soviet Union and the United States should reduce their nuclear warheads and delivery systems by half, after which a conference of all countries with nuclear arms could be convened to discuss broader reductions. This was slightly more flexible than Peking's old demand that the Soviet Union and the United States destroy half their nuclear weapons before a conference could be considered. But the cuts that Peking wants go well beyond anything Moscow and Washington have discussed in their many rounds of negotiation.

It remains unclear who would join such a conference besides the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, France and China, which admit to having nuclear weapons. Would China also insist upon countries suspected of having them, such as India, Israel and South Africa? China has said that nuclear and conventional disarmament must go hand in hand and that any cutback in conventional weapons must include the withdrawal of all troops from foreign territories. Such prerequisites are complicated by Peking's unwillingness to acknowledge its nuclear poten-

tial. Chinese delegates participating in a Tokyo antinuclear conference in August refused to sign the final document because, they said, "the declaration put China on a par with the two superpowers."

Peking has expressed support for Western Europe's pacifist movement, which the People's Daily said shows "a legitimate desire to maintain peace and prevent nuclear war." But there have been hints that China is not entirely unhappy with the deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe. When Gaston Thorn, the President of the European Community, recently visited Peking, he said Deng Xiaoping, China's leader, had told him the deployment was "inevitable."

China's paramount concern is that the arms race not spill over into Asia. One precondition for more normal relations with the Soviet Union is a sharp reduction in the Soviet SS-20 missiles along the border. Peking was not satisfied with Yuri Andropov's assurances in August that Soviet missiles removed from Europe in an arms agreement would not be shifted to Asia. The Japanese Foreign Ministry disclosed last week that the number of SS-20's in northern Asia had already been increased from 108 to 117.

Deploring the breakdown of the Geneva talks on intermediate-range missiles in Europe, Wang Zhenyu, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, said last week that "China, as an Asian country, also opposes the Soviet-U.S. arms race in Asia. We hold that the nuclear weapons already deployed in Asia should be drastically reduced or dismantled." China said in August that it wanted to join the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency, which would increase its access to Western technology. But Peking made clear it would not submit to the agency's international inspections. Past reports that China had secretly sold enriched uranium to South Africa and Pakistan have been vehemently denied.

The absence of guarantees against such exports is the principal reason why Washington has not allowed China to buy American nuclear power technology.

China's leadership considers its nuclear arsenal the cheapest and fastest deterrence against aggression. Defense ranks last in China's "four modernizations" drive, behind agriculture, industry and science. Defense Minister Zhang Aiping suggested last March in the journal Red Flag that the limited resources available be used to improve nuclear warheads, missiles and fuel.

The London-based Institute of Strategic Studies has estimated that China has several hundred nuclear weapons. It successfully launched a land-based intercontinental missile in 1980, a rocket carrying several satellites in 1981 and another missile from an underwater submarine in 1982. A simulated nuclear explosion highlighted big-scale army maneuvers last year in north China.

Mr. Zhang quoted Lenin as saying that an army that did not want to master all the enemy's weapons and fighting methods was foolish. This may hardly reassure the Russians. It suggests China is not quite the bystander it claims to be.



# The Paper Industry on a Roll

Producers predict a record year for the star of the smokestacks.

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

**W**INDING its way south, the tractor-trailer roars past stand after stand of longleaf and slash pine, which shoot straight and tall out of the red clay soil. After a 50-mile drive from Alabama, the truck finally reaches the St. Regis paper mill's wood-receiving gate in this northwestern Florida town.

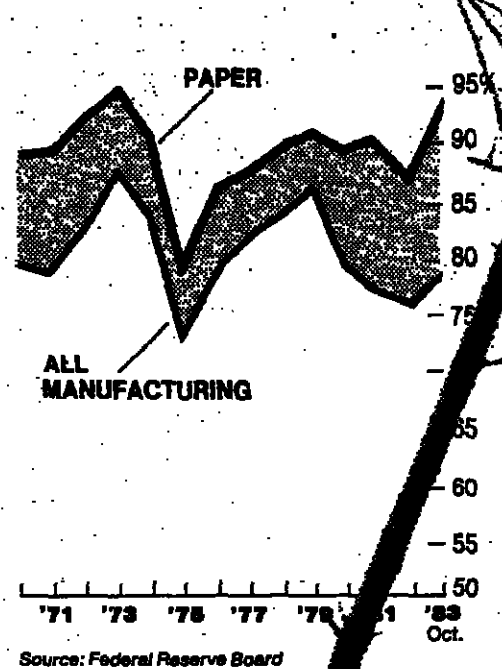
Inside the gate, the cargo of newly felled pines is unloaded onto the piles of horizontal tree trunks that surround the mill. A steady stream of white steam ascends into the azure sky as the mill turns the pines into chips, then pulp and finally paper.

The mill, one of dozens dotting the Southern pine region that dips from Virginia to Florida before hooking west to Texas, produces the brown paper called kraft used to make grocery and heavy-duty fertilizer bags.

Like many paper mills, the United States, the open market is at near 100 percent capacity.

## Paper Makers: Busier Than Most

Percent of factory capacity in use in the paper industry and in all U.S. manufacturing



Source: Federal Reserve Board

haust pipe ejecting fumes ab roof of the bus is more bene the public, he said.

have backlogs of orders and even shortages. Paper consumption has risen 40 percent faster than the gross national product this year, even though changes in paper consumption traditionally mirror those in G.N.P.

All of which helps explain the stock market success of the paper companies. While the Standard and Poor's 500 industrials rose only 1.74 percent last month, paper industry issues jumped 15.8 percent, making them the market's best performing group.

What makes Richard Peterson, manufacturing superintendent of the St. Regis Corporation's Cantonment mill, most proud is his new \$130 million paper machine, a sparkling computerized amalgam of presses and dryers. The machine, he said, exemplifies the industry's quest for new technology, adding, "The cost per unit is a lot less even though this equipment is more expensive."

The new 600-foot-long machine whirs along 24 hours a day, producing 2,000 feet of 22-foot-wide paper a minute — almost twice the width of paper made by most kraft (German for strength) paper machines.

This machine is one of the few that make extra-strength kraft paper. Mr. Peterson says this stronger paper will save money for companies that produce fertilizer or cement bags by enabling them to manufacture them out of just three layers of paper rather than four.

The machine, he notes, should also help recapture some of the brown bag market that has been lost to plastics. The plastics industry has cornered 4

# The Economy

WEEK IN BUSINESS

## A Rough Week For Feldstein

The battle between Martin Feldstein, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, and the White House over tax increases and the deficit broke wide open last week. After Mr. Feldstein's office published new statistics supporting his contention that taxes must be raised to reduce the budget deficit, Presidential spokesman Larry Speakes openly reprimanded the chief economist. At a news conference, Mr. Speakes noted that the White House was opposed to any tax increase and Mr. Feldstein should therefore stop campaigning for one — or resign. Despite the pressure, Mr. Feldstein issued a statement that he was determined to stay, unless asked to leave by the President.

Gulf Oil shareholders voted on a proposal that in effect nixed Gulf's



Martin S. Feldstein

Members Offered to Form Caribbean Peacekeeping Force Last Week

# Commonwealth Ties Endure Across Continents and Cultures

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

**NEW DELHI** — When London's writ ran around the world, the lands now known as the Commonwealth of Nations formed a red girdle across the map. Today, as befits autonomous countries diverse in geography, politics and culture, the 48 Commonwealth members are marked in many colors. Place names rich in associations that resonate in the imagination testify to their variety — from Mount Kilimanjaro and Victoria Falls in Africa to Pitcairn Island in the Pacific, Montego Bay in the Caribbean, the Canadian Rockies, the Australian outback and the great cities of the Indian subcontinent.

Yet something binds them to this day. Last week, Commonwealth leaders completed their biennial meeting in New Delhi. No votes were taken; all conclusions were by consensus. It was a measure of their success that despite sharp divisions over Grenada, they emerged with a forward-looking position on the invasion that avoided recrimination. They offered the Commonwealth's services to help organize a Caribbean peacekeeping force that would replace the American troops on the island.

Why do the Commonwealth countries still stick together, a generation after the British Empire was broken up? What do Commonwealth nations, most of them in the third world, get out of it? Does their association have meaning or usefulness for the rest of the world?

The rationale goes back to Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, who wanted to retain the benefits of his newly independent country's long association with Britain. "Why should you throw away the good bits of imperial rule?" Patsy Robertson, a Commonwealth spokesman, said last week. "When people become independent, they need friends. How could a small country talk to the Prime Minister of Britain otherwise? And it helps them because the Prime Ministers of Britain and Canada are important links to the North." The "North" refers to the Western industrialized countries, including the United States. Britain's Margaret Thatcher and Canada's Pierre Elliott Trudeau are conduits who carry the force of Commonwealth opinion to the big powers on

issues such as disarmament and independence for South-West Africa, or Namibia.

In 1961, the members of what was then called the British Commonwealth agreed to accept Britain's monarch as the group's symbol. Queen Elizabeth, who has been on the throne ever since, has made her Common-

wealth role a special concern. She travels widely among member nations. At New Delhi, she met with each of the heads of government. Among the Commonwealth's ties, not the least is the English language. Around the oval conference table, the lilt of Caribbean English mixed with the clipped Indian version, the Americanized Cana-



British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Nigerian President Shehu Shagari and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at the Commonwealth conference in New Delhi.

dian accent, British Oxbridge and the equally distinct inflections of East Africa, the Pacific islanders and the East Asians of Singapore and Malaysia.

The democratic ethic is another strong tie, although some members are military dictatorships. Many are functioning democracies and others appear to be in varying stages of evolution toward democracy. Dovetailing with this are two British bequests, commitment to the rule of law and, in most member countries, a civil service that gave them a much-needed leg up at independence. Many of the leaders were educated in Britain, which gives something of an old-boy flavor to Commonwealth conferences. Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada went wind-surfing during this year's weekend break on the beaches of Goa, but Lester Bird of Antigua-Barbuda and J. M. G. Adams of Barbados attended a cricket match in Bombay between the West Indies and India.

Student exchanges are widespread and growing. Because of language and ease of travel, some workers go to other Commonwealth countries for training. The organization's headquarters in London arranges training for refugees from troubled countries. "There are lots of little Namibian girls learning typing in Malta and Jamaica," Mrs. Robertson said. The Commonwealth helped to train thousands of Zimbabwean refugees who have returned since independence, which was achieved largely through Commonwealth intervention. Officials are proud of what they call a "latticework" of Commonwealth groups, including associations for lawyers, doctors and teachers. There is even a Commonwealth chess organization.

Cutting across regions and cultures, the Commonwealth is well situated to bridge North-South and East-West divisions. Leaders such as Mr. Trudeau, strengthened by the Commonwealth consensus developed at last week's meetings, can talk to the United States and the Soviet Union about the dangers of the arms race. Mrs. Thatcher will also be in a position to convey the feelings of the Commonwealth's large and diverse membership to President Reagan and her other NATO allies. How effectively these opportunities will be exploited remains to be seen. But Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was hopeful last week. "If you keep knocking on the door," she said, "sooner or later it will open."

Rising Protests May Prompt Early Vice Presidential Elections

# If Marcos Does Step Down, Who's to Step Up?

By ROBERT TRUMBULL

**MANILA** — A growing desire to see President Ferdinand E. Marcos go is being matched by concern over who would succeed him.

Except for the occasional outburst of temper, the ailing leader continues to maintain an imperturbable front in the gravest political and financial crisis he has faced since he imposed martial law in 1972. Although he ended military rule in 1981, he has retained power to make laws

and order summary arrests.

Calls for Mr. Marcos's resignation have been coming from an ever-broadening cross section of society since the assassination three and a half months ago of Benigno S. Aquino Jr., his main political rival, under circumstances that cast suspicion on the Government. Public hearings by an investigating board appointed by Mr. Marcos have only increased the suspicion by exposing discrepancies in the official accounts of the crime.

The furor over the Aquino killing caused doubts here and abroad about the political stability of the country.

This led in turn to a flight of capital, the drying up of needed foreign investment, and a disastrous squeeze on credit, with consequent factory closings, loss of jobs, shortages, and price rises.

As a result, Mr. Marcos has lost much of whatever support remained to him in Manila and other main cities and towns. Abuses of civil liberties and other excesses of martial law had already eroded his strength. Some of the rural areas have defected to Communist insurgents. The almost daily street demonstrations following the assassination are receiving strong support from the conservative business community, which had been one of Mr. Marcos's backers.

Mr. Marcos has bent a little under the current pressure and his opponents hope that he can be persuaded to bend some more. But few of those who are demanding his resignation right now have any hope that the strong-willed, 68-year-old President, whose term expires in 1987, will step down voluntarily. Paradoxically, many of these opponents seem to prefer Mr. Marcos to the visible alternatives at this point. "If Marcos left there would be chaos," a businessman said. A young clerk in an airline ticket office concluded a spirited denunciation of the President's policies by declaring that "Marcos is still the only strong leader we have."

One alternative is assumption of the presidency by the Speaker of the National Assembly, should Mr. Marcos leave before the election in 1987. There is no vice president at present. A constitutional amendment for the election of one in four years is due to be submitted to a referendum in January. The present Speaker, chosen by Mr. Marcos's ruling party in the National Assembly, is Querube Makalintal, a Marcos follower, but it could be anybody — including Mr. Marcos's wife, Imelda, who has been

a special target of critics for years. To ward off such a possibility, many Filipinos have been demanding a vice-presidential election quickly and in a sign of further bending, Mr. Marcos submitted to a party caucus last week a proposal by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry to hold a vice-presidential election next May at the same time a new Assembly is chosen.

Another possibility, which makes democratically inclined Filipinos shudder, is a takeover by the military. The top officers of the military have repeatedly disclaimed, publicly and privately, any ambition to govern. However, there is widespread reluctance to take such assurances at face value. Nor is there any great public confidence in the renunciation by Mrs. Marcos of any desire to be President, or in her pledge to quit politics when her term in the Assembly ends in May.

The murder of Mr. Aquino has left the opposition without a challenger to Mr. Marcos with strong public appeal. Lorenzo Tanada, the former senator who heads an umbrella opposition organization known as JAJA, the initials of the group's slogan Justice for Aquino, Justice for All, is an octogenarian whose role is that of elder statesman. Another former senator, Salvador H. Laurel, president of a 12-party coalition called the United Democratic Nationalist Organization, is criticized for lacking the charisma of a national leader.

Meanwhile, there has been some ambivalence both in the anti-Marcos feeling and the regime's responses. Wage earners overwhelmingly ignored a call by the opposition to stay away from work last week to show their dissatisfaction with the Government. "Nobody wants to risk a job in these times," said a stenographer.

Mr. Marcos, for his part, seemed to be dealing with the swelling demand that he step aside by at least softening his authoritarian style. Apparently sensing that people were in no mood to accept harassment from security forces, Mr. Marcos ordered the authorities to be "tolerant." But the public mood changed last weekend when, after a peaceful demonstration marking Mr. Aquino's 51st birthday, a group of youths went on a rampage of looting until dispersed by the police. The public, fed up with violence, applauded. When about 100 left-wing students marched on the American Embassy two days later, the police promptly roughed them up and arrested some. This time the reaction was extremely adverse and Mr. Marcos said that he had reiterated his earlier order to lay off the rough stuff. Later, he stated that the Government would allow peaceful demonstrations of dissent, but would react harshly to any "hooliganism."



Riot policemen cornering a group of youths during birthday celebration for slain opposition leader Benigno S. Aquino Jr. in Manila last week.

# The World

## Where East And West Still Meet

Soviet-American relations stayed bad last week, but not all bad. In the absence of the Soviet leader, Yuri V. Andropov, who hasn't been seen in public for more than three months, the Kremlin appeared to be proceeding cautiously. Despite the suspension at Soviet insistence of discussions on medium-range missiles in Europe, the other Geneva talks — on strategic weapons — continued in two sessions, with another meeting set for Tuesday.

In Moscow, Marshal Nikolai V. Ogarkov, chief of the general staff, scheduled a rare news conference tomorrow on missiles, setting off speculation about whether the military was moving into a vacuum in the Kremlin or just covering for the absent Mr. Andropov, who is thought to be ill. There was also speculation about whether Mr. Andropov would reappear later this month at a delayed winter session of the Central Committee and Soviet Parliament.

According to West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the promise of a negotiated settlement by the oil and members of the Hispanic caucus. Now a vote is expected early next year. Among other things, the measure would give legal status to aliens who could prove they entered the country before a certain date. Caucus members have raised the loudest objections to provisions that



Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr.

would set up a system of fines and criminal penalties against employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens. The restriction would encourage employers to exclude many Hispanics from their payrolls, say the critics. The Senate has twice passed immigration law changes — which proponents say are needed to curtail the rising number of illegal aliens competing for jobs — only to have the legislation bog down in the House.

In the case of another politically sensitive issue, Medicare, participants in a conference last week said that another display of legislative concern just won't do any more. A study by the Congressional Budget Office, one of the sponsors of the conference, predicted that without substantial revisions in the program, Medicare's hospital trust fund will have been emptied by the end of the decade, and by 1995 the program will be running an annual deficit of \$61 billion. All in all, said Representative W. Henson Moore, a Louisiana Republican, Medicare's financial problems "make the Social Security problem seem like child's play."

## A Church Push For Jackson

Endorsements in a Presidential campaign often don't count for much, but the Rev. Jesse Jackson could benefit mightily from one he picked up last week. The chairman of the National Baptist Convention U.S.A. Inc. — the largest black religious organization in the country — formally declared for Mr. Jackson.

The Rev. T.J. Jemison, the chairman, maintained that with his endorsement he wasn't necessarily speaking for his convention's 6.8 million members, but he said he thought a majority of ministers and members would support his choice. All in all, he said, Mr. Jackson would "serve as a catalyst to not only unite black people in this country but also serve as a stimulus to bring all people of good will together."

Mr. Jackson acknowledged that the endorsement of the leaders of the church, which traditionally refrains from backing candidates, could give him access to a vast pool of campaign workers in all 50 states. Mr. Jackson had earlier made much of the fact that the A.F.L.-C.I.O. hadn't

Both are members of the Democratic Party, the junior partner in the coalition with the Christian Democrats. They denied charges. Mr. Lambsdorff, one of the brightest members of the cabinet declared, "I am neither dishonest nor stupid enough to jeopardize personal, political and professional existence by sticking money into pockets like that." He was backed by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, leader of the Free Democrats, and by the coalition leader Chancellor Helmut Kohl. But Mr. Lambsdorff was expected to resign, an examining magistrate decided that federal prosecutors had enough evidence to warrant a trial.

The prosecutors, who investigated the case for two years, say the trial actions took place when the pair was allied in government with the Social Democrats; they suggest the money was taken more to help the Free Democrats than for personal enrichment. Premier Franz Josef Strauss of Bavaria, a strong critic of the party and of Mr. Genscher, took advantage of its political embarrassment to push his claim for a greater role.

## War of Wills In Bus Strike

With jobs so hard to come by, picket lines aren't nearly the barriers they used to be. Greyhound Bus Lines, like other companies recently involved in bitter labor disputes, seems to be making do with nonunion replacements. The company said last week that despite scattered violence, and in the face of boycotts called by the A.F.L.-C.I.O., among others, it planned to double the number of places it served by mid-month.

More than 12,000 drivers, mechanics and terminal workers, who refused to accept pay cuts averaging 9.5 percent a year, have been on strike since Nov. 2. Officials of the Amalgamated Transit Union announced last week that the rank-and-file had followed their advice and voted overwhelmingly to reject a modified company proposal for a 7.8 percent pay cut.

John W. Teets, chairman and chief executive officer of the Greyhound Corporation, called the vote a "sham and a disgrace." He said the line, which had been operating on a limited schedule at 500 locations in 27 states, would accelerate its hiring of replacements. "We have reached the point of no return in protecting the jobs of our employees," said Mr. Teets. By week's end, union leaders, who said the company's claims of increased ridership were vastly inflated, presented Greyhound management with a compromise counterproposal that included concessions. A union spokesman said the proposal "addresses the needs of Greyhound, perhaps more than earlier proposals they have made."

## Guilty Verdicts For Lavelle

It is little more than bad form in Washington to be caught lying to the press or the public; it is a crime to be caught lying to Congress. A jury last week found Rita M. Lavelle guilty of several such violations in a case that largely ignored the murky details about which she apparently lied.

Miss Lavelle, the former chief of toxic waste programs at the Environmental Protection Agency, was found guilty of three counts of perjury and one count of obstructing a Congressional investigation. The charges grew out of an investigation earlier this year of possible wrongdoing — linked to the White House, according to some Congressional testimony — in the administration of a \$1.6 billion Federal "superfund" for cleaning up toxic waste sites.

A Federal jury found Miss Lavelle guilty of lying about when she learned that her former employer, Aerojet General, was being investigated for illegally dumping toxic wastes in California. She said she had disqualified herself from the inquiry as soon as she learned of its possible involvement. The prosecutor said she didn't take herself out of the inquiry until well after she tipped off Aerojet, in hopes of gain later.

The jury found her not guilty of lying about using the "superfund" selectively to help Republican Congressmen and hurt Democrats, contrary to the testimony of several former E.P.A. employees. The prosecution did not attempt to link the supposed politicization of the cleanup fund to the White House, though witnesses before a Congressional investigating committee had done so.

Miss Lavelle was the only one prosecuted among more than a score of high ranking E.P.A. officials, including Anne McGill Burford, the administrator, who resigned under pressure in connection with the Superfund investigation. Her sentence, which could be up to 20 years in prison and \$19,000 in fines, is to be set at a hearing Jan. 9.

Carlyle C. Douglas,  
Michael Wright  
and Caroline Rand Herron

## Indian Rebels Released From Prison Last Week

# Managua Loosens Its Grip, to a Point

By STEVEN K. WEISMAN

WASHINGTON — For the Reagan Administration, the Christmas season has begun not on a note of hope and fellowship, but on one of acrimony over the President's economic program, illustrating the peculiar relationship between Mr. Reagan and his aides.

With the President maintaining his distance, infighting between true-believing conservatives and practical-minded moderates has gone on for so long that everyone seems to have accepted it as a given. Recently, there have been sharp disputes over extending the life of the United States Civil Rights Commission and campaigns against "leaks" to the press. The atmosphere was such that a White House official could casually refer to a colleague as a "bigot" and be surprised that a listener found his comment unusual.

In that climate Larry Speakes, the President's spokesman, evidently received instructions from superiors last week to fire a shot across the bow of Martin S. Feldstein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. The result was more like a torpedo into his hull. At two extraordinary briefings on Wednesday, Mr. Speakes ridiculed the former Harvard economist and made clear that he was being told to resign if he couldn't keep

perhaps another measure of the backbiting at the White House, a senior aide let it be known that Mr. Reagan was angry at Mr. Speakes' tone.

The Speakes incident was all the more notable because for many weeks, Mr. Feldstein has been earning the wrath of Presidential aides not so much by what he said as how and where he said it. Except for Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan, the President is surrounded by mainstream Republicans who tend to accept the Feldstein analysis of the perils of the deficit.

Those with a record of favoring concessions in these areas have been heavyweights such as James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff, David A. Stockman, the budget director, and Richard G. Darman, an influential Presidential assistant. They were the aides who persuaded Mr. Reagan to swallow his deep misgivings and accept military spending restraint, as well as a tax increase in 1982, before Mr. Feldstein joined the Reagan team.

According to their colleagues, these aides have long believed that the only way to convince Mr. Reagan to go against his conservative ideology is to tip-toe around it and strike at the right moment. In practice, this has meant persuading the President to compromise by persuading him that Congress has left him with no choice, or better,

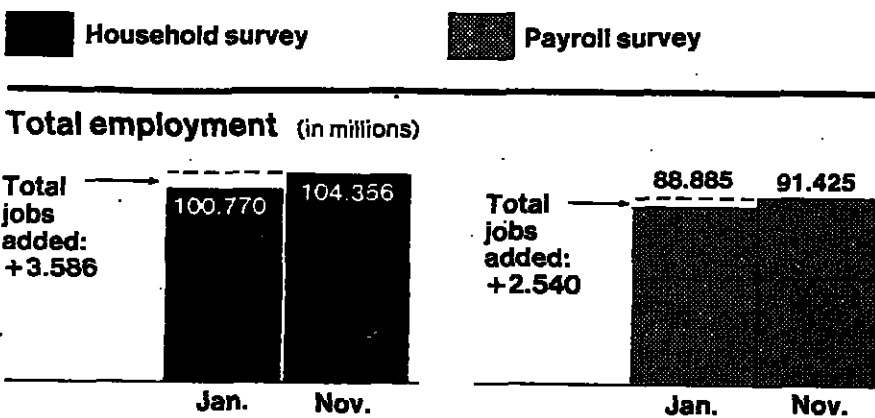
as what many in the Administration, and most in the Congress, have been saying for some time. But White House officials feel no President can afford a chief economic adviser who sees things so differently from his boss, and is so willing to say so publicly. Thus there is widespread uncertainty over whether Mr. Feldstein can stay on.

The issue of taxes, defense spending and domestic programs is coming to a head once again. Starting this week, the President will be listening to appeals from the heads of Government agencies trying to dodge Mr. Stockman's ax and considering a standby tax increase. The goal is to come up with a budget presentation for the 1985 fiscal year that somehow shows deficits coming down before the end of the decade.

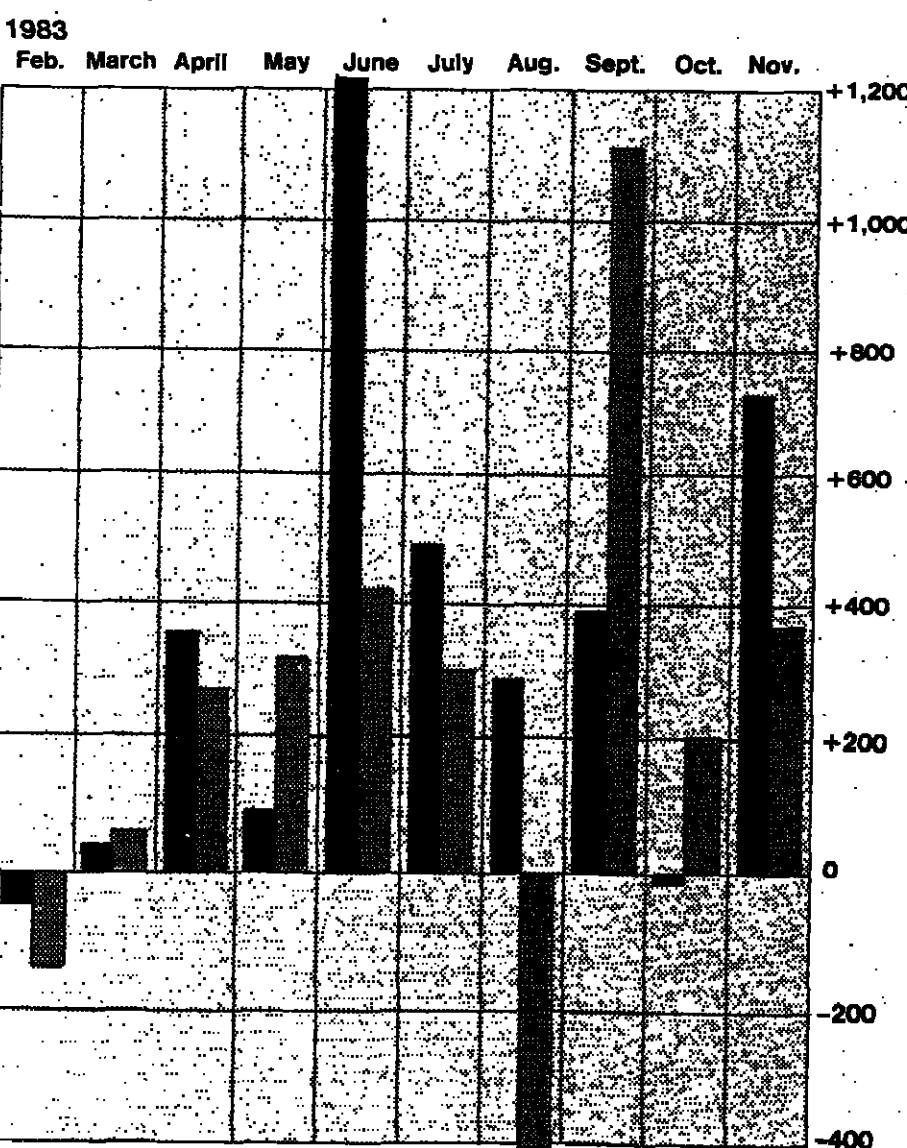
Mr. Reagan seems likely to end up wrestling with the same difficulties he has faced since 1981: deficits so large that they cannot be reduced except by further assaults on the legacy of the Great Society or by modifying his tax and defense-spending policies, and loyalists arguing that he should not give in against a White House staff by and large counseling concessions, but only when the time is right — that is, politically useful or necessary. Ironically, Mr. Feldstein, challenging the premises of Reaganomics, is running afoul of the pragmatic approach that the right wing calls cynical.

## Which numbers?

Total net and monthly change in civilians employed, Jan.-Nov. 1983, as shown by Government's two methods of counting jobs



## Change from previous month



Source: Department of Labor

## Jobless Drop Calls for a Look At the Data

WASHINGTON — Last week's startlingly large drop in the nation's unemployment rate — to 8.2 percent from 8.7 percent — prompted economists once again to revise their views of the year-old recovery, whose strength many have consistently underestimated.

"All the economists who believed that the unemployment rate would dip below 10 percent by the end of 1983 could have fit comfortably into one Japanese two-door sedan," said John M. Albertine, president of the American Business Conference. Those who predicted about a year ago that unemployment would now be approaching 8 percent, he added, "would have fit comfortably into a single straitjacket."

But while the White House and others celebrated the latest labor market data, there were some who looked a bit more closely and suggested that things weren't adding up quite right. Could the improvement be overstated?

The biggest mystery involved the number of people who do have jobs. By one measure, the sampling of 60,000 households on which the unemployment rate is calculated, the number of job holders has risen by 3.5 million this year. By the other, a sampling of 189,000 employers, the gain is only 2.5 million.

What accounts for the discrepancy and what does it mean? Some economists suggest the "missing" jobs may represent nothing more than an increased number of self-employed people who don't show up on payrolls. Such workers often continue to be self-employed long after recovery begins, said David Ernst, an economist at Evans Economics, a consulting firm.

Some of the discrepancy can be attributed to the creation of new companies that are not immediately caught in the statistical nets from which the payroll figures are compiled, according to Howard V. Hayge, an economist at the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Others venture that the explanation may lie partly in the mechanism of adjusting the data for seasonal variation. Then there is the normal margin of statistical error and the double-counting of people with more than one job.

The November figures reported Friday show employment measured by the household survey — the one used to calculate the highly publicized rate of unemployment — rose 733,000 while the payroll survey showed an increase only half as big, 370,000. Although economists are still sifting the numbers for possible danger signals, the general inclination is to regard the November data as confirming a year-long improvement in the labor market.

"I'd go along with the household survey," said Rose McElhattan, an economist at the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco. She noted that the gains it showed were only moderately higher than in previous recoveries.

Several times, to the dismay of the Labor Department, the two employment measures have moved in opposite directions, a phenomenon that raises obvious doubts about the data. Now, however, "at least you have the two series going in the same direction," Mr. Albertine said.

— ROBERT HERSHEY



WASHINGTON

# Where Are They Going?

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3 — President Reagan and Prime Minister Shamir of Israel agreed here the other day to improve their political consultation and military coordination, but it's a vague and limited agreement at best.

There is, for example, quite a difference between the reasons they gave for this widely publicized agreement, and the means they proposed in order to reach their common objective.

Both gave the impression that the problem in the Middle East was not an accumulation of ancient regional conflicts over land, commerce and religion, but a new and critical phase in the global struggle against Soviet expansion and ideology.

"I am pleased to announce," President Reagan said, "that we have agreed to establish a joint political-military group to examine ways in which we can enhance Israeli-American cooperation. This group will give priority attention to the threat to our mutual interest posed by increased Soviet involvement in the Middle East."

Prime Minister Shamir made the same point: "Syria," he said, "constitutes today a major threat to the peace in the area by occupying more than 60 percent of Lebanon, and by its massive concentration of Soviet arms and personnel on Syrian territory."

The danger is obvious. The Syrians now have SAM-5 missiles that not only have the capacity to intercept U.S. and Israeli flights over Lebanon, but to reach Tel Aviv and the American warships off the Lebanese coast.

The purpose of the new agreement, Prime Minister Shamir explained to a few reporters here the other day, was to "deter" any reckless adventure by Moscow or Damascus.

However: If the major problem is the expansion of Soviet military power in the Middle East, how do you "deter" it with a committee of consultation? It is clearly useful to stockpile weapons and see that seaports and airfields in Israel are modern and available to the U.S. in a military crisis. But in the event that the Syrians, backed by the Russians, refuse to be "deterred," this agreement merely commits the United States and Israeli officials to talk things over.

Obviously, the geography, philosophy and ideology of the contending nations in the Middle East are not likely to change — though their aging and ailing leaders might. But what are the commitments of the United States and Israel to one another in this endless Middle Eastern struggle?

If Soviet power through Syria is the major problem, which Mr. Reagan says and his NATO allies challenge, then he should be willing to keep American military power in the eastern Mediterranean, rather than implying that maybe he'll bring the marines back home for Christmas.

The United States and Israel keep talking about themselves as "allies," but they have no treaty alliance. Yet it is clear to the Russians and the Syrians that the United States regards the security of the state of Israel as a vital American interest, and will not allow it to be destroyed. That might really be a "deterrent."

A strong argument can and is being made that Mr. Reagan is wrong in thinking that Soviet military intervention is the main problem in the Middle East, but assuming he's right, it's probably wrong to think he or Mr. Shamir can deal with it by creating another "talking committee."

Nobody knows what this new agreement means. Both countries proclaim their "interdependence," but insist on their independence to do what they like.

Israel wants to be free to bomb the nuclear facility in Iraq, or invade Lebanon, or withdraw from Beirut, or use American weapons without restrictions or do what it likes in the West Bank. It doesn't want an American alliance that might veto Israeli military actions or political decisions Washington thinks unwise.

Likewise, Washington wants to use Israeli military power to defend its own Middle East interests in the short run, but isn't willing to commit its power in the area over the long run. The assumption in Washington has been that if the United States just talks about being tough, and makes a demonstration that it might use its power, then that will be enough to intimidate the opposition, not only in the Middle East but also in Central America.

No need to concentrate on the more difficult ancient social and economic quarrels of the regions. Concentrate on military power. Increase, as the President proposes, the U.S. military budget by about \$55 billion in the next year. Send the Navy into the eastern Mediterranean and the Caribbean, and the marines into Beirut Airport for a little while, and in the meanwhile, establish another committee to discuss the consequences.

There may be something to be said for this policy of threat and pretense, but not much. It may be good politics for President Reagan and Prime Minister Shamir, and for the leaders in Moscow and Damascus, but it's clearly no answer for a divided and frightened world.

NEW HAVEN, Conn. — The killing of 239 servicemen in Lebanon and the invasion of Grenada have reminded Americans of the military's role in pursuit of the nation's purposes and once again have raised the question of the citizen's obligation to do military service when called upon. This question still is before us because of continuing controversy over a law requiring students seeking Federal aid to register for the draft.

It would seem obvious that in a world of independent and sovereign states that come into conflict and threaten one another's vital interests — sometimes even existence itself — citizens who choose to remain in a particular country are morally obliged to serve in its armed forces when the need arises.

Critics of this view appeal to a higher morality in which an individual may refuse to serve if such serv-

Donald Kagan is professor of history and classics at Yale University.

ice violates his conscience. Some assert the right, even the duty, to refuse service when they do not approve of the national policy that leads to the need for military action, even though they do not oppose serving when they approve the cause. To accept such a claim would be to destroy all governments, but especially democracies, which rely on the willingness of their citizens to accept the decisions that duly elected and appointed bodies and officials arrive at, even if they are wrong.

That is not to say that citizens are morally obliged to accept the decisions of any country in which they live, no matter how wicked and despotic — only in legitimate ones. My definition of a legitimate state is one that permits the open advocacy of different opinions, the possibility of changing the laws by peaceful means and, most important, emigration without penalty. A regime that fails to meet these criteria imposes its will by force alone and has no moral claim

# Military Service: A Moral Obligation

By Donald Kagan

on the obedience of its subjects.

On the other hand, a nation that meets them has every claim to its citizens' allegiance and especially to the service most vital to its existence. When a citizen has become an adult and has not chosen to leave the country, he tacitly approves of its legitimacy and consents to its laws. He

benefits from their protection and has the moral obligation to obey them if he wants to stay. To enjoy the enormous advantages provided by a free society while claiming the right to ignore or disobey the laws selectively, especially those essential to its survival and most demanding of its citizens, is plainly immoral.

Some recusants are pacifists who refuse to fight regardless of the occasion. Their position, though it lacks the absurdity of claiming the right of each citizen to conduct his own foreign policy, is also deficient. Leaving the country would not solve their problem, since wherever they go they will find a state that will be prepared to use force in the national interest when necessary and will ask its citizens to do military service. One solution has been to refuse to serve and accept the legal penalty without complaint. Another has been to accept auxiliary service, such as in the medical corps, which, though dangerous, does not require killing. These re-

sponses prove sincerity and courage, but they do not satisfy the moral demands of citizenship. Pacifists in this imperfect world can pursue their beliefs only in free societies and only because their fellow citizens are willing to fight and protect them. There were no protected pacifists in Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia; there are none in Yuri V. Andropov's.

Pacifists are not alone in hating the need to kill. Most American soldiers find it impossible to pull the trigger in their first combat experience and find it profoundly painful even later. Yet they do their duty, though there is no way to know if they dislike killing any less than those refusing to fight. A decent, free society is right to allow concern for personal conscience a place in its considerations and to afford special treatment to those who refuse to fight on plausible grounds of conscience. But those who accept such treatment must realize that they are getting a free ride and failing in their moral responsibility as citizens.

# Too Much Foolish '1984'ing

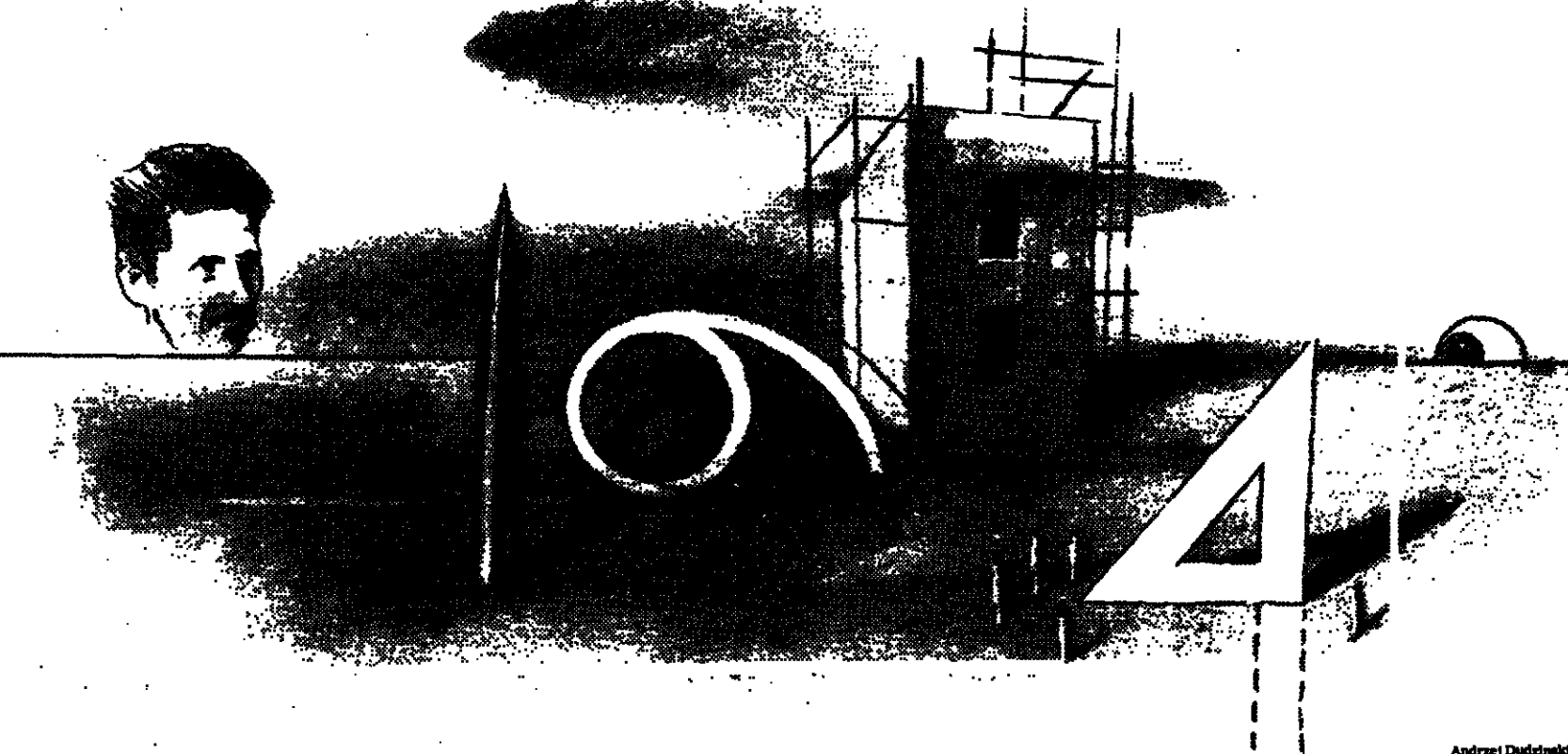
By Amnon Rubinstein

JERUSALEM — With 1984 just around the corner, an almost irresistible temptation can be discerned: to see everywhere signs of George Orwell's "1984." Indeed, a recent television documentary claimed that more than 80 percent of Orwell's predictions about a nightmarish, centralized, all-seeing bureaucracy have already come true in contemporary America. A plethora of articles invoke Orwellian terms in order to denounce not only authoritarian regimes but also manifestations in Western societies: Military jargon and bureaucratic euphemism are the "Newspeak" issued by the equivalents of the "Ministry of Truth"; modern methods of electronic surveillance, computerized data and closed-circuit TV are the relatives of "Big Brother"; and anyone who dares challenge these simplistic analogies is guilty of "Doublethink."

As Erich Fromm put it, "The reader will find many features of our present western society in Orwell's description in '1984,' provided he can overcome enough of his own 'doublethink.'" To Mr. Fromm, as well as to others, it is self-evident that the deficiencies of Western democracies and the discontents of capitalism are the very stuff of which "1984" nightmares are made.

Yet all this is sheer nonsense. Western society, wars and all, affords its members more individual freedom and more privacy than that known in traditional societies. Despite the widespread use of electronic surveillance, Americans enjoy a greater immunity from governmental intervention than members of pre-electronic

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societies using old-fashioned neighborhood spies. Privacy in America, as well as in other Western societies, has been enhanced both through widening the concept of personal autonomy — as in the matter of sexual conduct and the right to suicide — as well as through legal restraints placed upon police power. Indeed, many observers claim that the balance between private right and public good recently has been tilted against the proper functioning of the criminal-justice system. The abuse of language, far from being the monopoly of central governments, is widely resorted to by dissenting groups: Local wars are equated with Nazi atrocities, America's action in Vietnam is "genocide," and "underground" is a label for fashionable unorthodoxy.

Orwell's inverted utopia, half a warning, half an exercise in desperate futurism, has failed to materialize. Orwell's novel describes Stalinist-like societies waging a constant remote war at each other. The world we live in and the trends we can forecast lead us in a diametrically opposite direction. Anarchy, not regimentation, endangers the fabric of inter-

national and national life. In the democratic world, the traditional centers of power — the state, the church, and, on a different level, the family — are losing their grip and their authority is being eroded.

The traditional agencies of enforcement — the police force, the courts, the investigative agencies — are generally weakened by the growing exercise of checks and balances. The mass media, far from resembling Orwell's obedient tools of Big Brother, have acquired — again, within the non-Communist developed world — a



degree of power and independence probably unprecedented in history. These trends have not affected the non-democratic Communist world, but even there the trend is away from centralism. Moscow has lost its all-powerful centralist role; China is gradually shaking off the totalitarian shackles of Maoism; within the third world, tribalism endangers the

very pattern of post-colonialist nationalism; ethnic and religious loyalties have erupted all over the globe with a ferocity unforeseen and unforeseeable in 1948.

But "1984" fails on another ground: It depicts three "superstates" permanently at war — states that have no material cause for fighting and are not divided by any ideological difference. Here, again, one is tempted to draw false analogies and to belittle the difference between East and West on the ground that all societies are essentially the same and that the conflict between them is meaningless. Thus, Grenada is equated with Afghanistan, Mylai with Auschwitz, and Chile with the Gulag. Yet, in the years that have elapsed since World War II, there is one permanent feature: the growing dissimilarity between Western democracies, Soviet tyrannies and the mixed bag of the third world states.

Democracy, despite its constant malaise and perennial contradictions, is inherently different from both the totalitarian ferocity of the

Soviet system and the "traditional" barbarity of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and the Khmer Rouge. The Orwellian concept of a subdued universe shared by identical monsters is totally negated by a conflict that has a deep ideological thrust.

Finally, "1984" portrays a world in which an all-powerful bureaucracy manages to quell all remnants of individuality. And yet, despite generations of living under one form or another of an all-engulfing tyranny, an impressive number of Russians have managed to retain the spark of freedom, and beneath the monolithic surface of Soviet might the voices of dissent, growing in volume and intensity, can be heard.

Orwell's "1984" was written in the wake of Nazi atrocities and under the shadow of Stalin's reign of terror. As a constant warning of what may happen to human beings when they surrender their liberties, it will remain valid and meaningful. As a yardstick against which we measure the state of our planet, "1984" is, blissfully, becoming less and less relevant.

# Die Maus That Roared

By Madeleine G. Kalb

Klein Pampau's neat, Scandinavian-modern community center. Families dressed in everything from jeans to 1930's taffeta dresses to the latest Paris trends socialized at long tables, where beer, soft drinks and sausages were served. The mayor, red-faced and perspiring, joined the throng on the dance floor as a three-piece band played polkas and foxtrots and occasionally ventured into the 1960's for a rousing twist. The hit of the evening was "Visit Klein Pampau While It Still Stands," the local version of the popular antiwar song "Visit Europe While It's Still Here."

In this unlikely setting, reminiscent of an old-fashioned church social, the villagers spoke of their fear of war and their loss of confidence in the United States. They see the Pershing 2's not as protection against the Soviet SS-20's but as aggressive weapons likely to make their exposed position even more precarious. They feel they have mortgaged their destiny to a "trigger-happy" American President who can launch the missiles without West German consent and set off a nuclear exchange that could destroy their country. Essentially, they see the two superpowers as morally equivalent: Time and again, Poland and Afghanistan were balanced against Vietnam and Nicaragua. In fact, some villagers express more confidence in Soviet restraint, noting that the Russians have pledged never to be the first to use nuclear weapons, a pledge the United States refuses to make.

These sentiments are not unanimous. Some residents of Klein Pampau and the surrounding region consider the peace movement "unrealistic." One woman said: "We all want peace, but we cannot disarm unilaterally."

Her husband added, "We have to put a stop to Soviet expansion." Others pointed toward the east, and shrugged. One said, "If they have missiles over there, we have to have them here, too."

But there are a growing number of people — not just the ecology-minded Greens, the intensely committed church groups, the students, writers, and artists, but working-class and middle-class citizens — who are worried about the missiles. Even Defense Minister Manfred Wörner says that in his own district, where support for the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is overwhelming, if you ask, "Do you want new missiles?" the majority will say no.

Neutralist yearnings expressed in Klein Pampau are part of a nationwide erosion of support for the Western alliance. When I was in West Germany in late October, polls showed that 22 percent of the population would like to pull out of NATO. The Pershing 2's have become a lightning rod for Germany's grassroots angst, and they may end up costing the United States more than they are worth in the long run.

## ESSAY

# Ninotchka And Tatyana

By William Safire

70 numbered copies distributed in April of this year at a closed seminar of the Central Committee and Gosplan in Siberia. The Andropov faction leaked the document to Western newsmen in August.

Miss Zaslavskaya argued that chronic economic failures — long blamed on bad weather or bad roads or lack of discipline — were in reality caused by a huge bureaucracy out of touch with market needs; its tight local control led to worker resentment and lack of productivity.

Khrushchevian calls for decentralization have been heard before, and such "reform" has even been permitted to take place in Hungary. What made this academicians' report "revisionist" was her charge that communism's theoretically classless society actually included *klassovye gruppy* — class groups — which have "grown like mushrooms in recent decades" and whose organizational staff members occupy "numerous 'cosy niches' with ill-defined responsibilities ... but thoroughly agreeable salaries."

That is doctrinal heresy, especially when followed by her challenge to the Marxist-Leninist tenet that insists that economic change can be accomplished under communism without social conflict. On the contrary, the Novosibirsk paper holds that resistance to needed change will be strong, since "the existing system has to be changed by groups that occupy rather high positions in this system and consequently have vested interests."

She stops before recommending the obvious next step in changing the system — experimenting with private enterprise — and veers off into asking for more funds for sociological re-

search, such a natural act by an academicians' act by a Radio Liberty analyst, Philip Hanson, comments "it is this more than anything that suggests the paper is genuine."

Whenever a closed society permits this kind of heretical argument at the highest levels, and permits leaks by one side to embarrass the other, it can reasonably be assumed that a great convulsion is going on.

Mr. Chernenko's well-fed bureaucracy wants no rocking of its unproductive boat, but Mr. Andropov's K.G.B. and Marshal Ustinov's army want an economy that will produce for them the means of achieving greater internal control and international power. As a result, a leadership wracked by doctrinal dissension reacts furiously to any outside commentary that communism's economic system is failing, or that a change to "capitalism with a Slavic face" will save it from the ash heap.

Tatyana is no romantic Ninotchka; no Garbo will ever play her stolidly revisionist role. But we can expect that in years to come, Russians will be contemplating the fruits of her Novosibirsk paper in places other than the American Embassy.



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## In Pursuit of Icarus

The best time to stop any phase of the arms race is before it begins. Now is the time, therefore, to head off a dangerous, expensive and futile new competition in space. But President Reagan has been struck, like Icarus, by the dream of mastering space. He appears to be pressing the quest for an elaborate Star Wars "defense" that might, next century, render Soviet missiles obsolete.

The inspiration may be benign: a desire to deter attack with something more humane than the threat of massive retaliation. But to act on this dream portends a nightmare.

Mr. Reagan proposed this venture last March without extensive study and without consulting Congress or the Western allies, who perceive it to be a new version of Fortress America isolationism. Now, on the advice of two panels of Pentagon-picked analysts, the President is ready to follow this risky course. It involves spending at least \$20 billion over the next five years for greatly expanded research.

The idea is to use lasers, particle beams, hypersonic rockets, computers and other new technologies to intercept Soviet missiles at every stage of flight — in the boost phase, along their trajectories and after re-entry from space. The Administration would devote 20 years to developing such weapons and deems itself prudent for deferring deployments of exotic defenses until then.

Congress should not be impressed by such prudence. Some research is obviously necessary to prevent the Russians from springing a technological surprise. But the Administration's five-year program goes far beyond that. It invites a major competition in "defensive" weapons and begins to

undermine three major arms control agreements. The proposed research points toward abrogation of the treaty that severely limits the superpowers' antimissile preparations. And testing of the key component of the boost-phase interception — an X-ray laser powered by a nuclear explosion above the atmosphere — would violate the treaties that prohibit nuclear weapons and explosions in space.

A complete system might cost more than \$500 billion. The Pentagon's research director, Richard DeLauer, describes it only as "staggering." Eight major technical problems, he notes, would each require an effort equal to the Apollo program that put a man on the moon.

Even that understates the task. As Prof. Sidney Drell of Stanford observes, the moon could not be dodged the lunar landers, but the Russians can take countermeasures. Indeed, counter-countermeasures already appear in American plans.

Also, as Mr. DeLauer notes, "any defense system can be overcome" with enough attacking missiles. So offensive weapons, too, are likely to increase. Even a 2 percent leakage in an American antimissile system could leave 150 cities destroyed.

The Russians, of course, would build their own antimissile system. And a combination of offensive and defensive weaponry, as President Reagan has acknowledged, would make every crisis more dangerous. Each side would be tempted to shoot first to leave its defense with the more manageable task of intercepting a ragged retaliation.

The way to stop this madness is to join the Russians in an effective agreement to keep all weapons out of space. Congress should not pay for any antimissile research until such a proposal appears at the top of the President's diplomatic agenda.

## The Blinding Good Job News

Unemployment plunged again in November, confounding all the experts who said recent rapid improvement in the jobless rate was about to end. There's no doubt now that the recovery is strong and widespread. But that's still no guarantee the economy is back to steady, sustainable growth.

November's decline equaled the half-point drop in October, which was — maybe erroneously — interpreted as a fluke. At 8.2 percent (counting the civilian labor force and the military), last month's unemployment was the lowest in two years and lower than expected for the end of next year.

The November report showed gains among adults and teen-agers, males and females, whites and blacks — but not Hispanic workers. The picture was brighter, too, in most areas, although double-digit unemployment continues in three big industrial states — Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

There are some marked differences, though, from two years ago. In 1981, unemployment among adult men, the traditional family breadwinners, was slightly less than among adult women. Now it's higher for the men. Moreover, the adult male unem-

ployment rate is not yet down to its November 1981 level. In other words, the largest segment of the labor force is still catching up. Black unemployment — 17.3 percent last month — also lags behind 1981 levels.

The general improvement, however, is remarkable. The tremendous stimulus of big Federal deficits has helped, of course, but the deficits are also responsible for interest rates remaining so high. This combination makes most economists apprehensive about the staying power of the recovery — most audibly the President's own chief economist, Martin Feldstein.

The longer the deficits run unbridled, the greater the likelihood of still higher interest rates and a quick plunge back into recession.

President Reagan's political team, of course, is most concerned that the upswing last through Election Day, just 11 months away. If it continues, the Democrats will find it hard to run against Mr. Reagan on economic issues. But political connivance to hide the problem that lurks behind the good news puts the country irresponsibly at risk.

## A True Jail Outrage

To release hardened criminals when we have been seeking relief from the crime rate is outrage enough without having it compounded by creation of jail space on the doorstep of long-awaited redevelopment projects.

— Howard Golden, Brooklyn Borough President

When prisoners must be released from crowded jails, what's a good politician to do? Denounce the outrage. And when it's proposed to open up new cells or a shelter for the homeless in his community? Denounce the remedies as outrageous, too.

It isn't fair to use the old Brooklyn Army arsenal for a jail, says State Senator Montalto; a developer could turn it into office space. It isn't fair to use part of the Creedmoor Psychiatric Center in Queens to shelter the homeless, says Representative Ackerman; the community already must live with the mental hospital.

Yet every panicked community could devise similar excuses: the planned shopping mall, the future of gentrification, the elementary school down

the street. Are there no politicians in New York capable of more than "it isn't fair?" Here's what true leaders might say:

"Of course we're nervous about the idea of the jail or shelter, but this is no time for selfishness. Besides, it might not be so bad. The city isn't insensitive, it's just in a space bind. If we offer support instead of hostility, we'll have a lot to say about how a place is run.

"Look at the Brooklyn House of Detention. It hasn't blighted development of Atlantic Avenue and Brooklyn Heights. Look at old P.S. 156 in Harlem. When the city moved homeless men there, neighbors were so upset they tried to block the Harlem River Drive at rush hour. A year later, there've been no incidents, and the homeless men are cleaning up parks.

"Neighborhoods are New York's greatest strength — but we can't pretend they're more important than the city as a whole. Letting inmates go free and leaving the homeless in the street threatens the quality of life for all, ourselves included."

### Topics

#### Bikini's Day After

Is it worth \$100 million to clean up soil made radioactive by nuclear tests on the island of Bikini? It's a lot of money that an expert panel recommends, but it would settle the accounts on a trust undertaken by the United States. That's worth doing. Bikini was the site of 23 nuclear tests from 1946 to 1958. When some islanders returned in 1969, they found that all food grown there was still polluted with cesium 137. So the Bikinians, who now number 1,100, remain on Kili, which lacks a fishing lagoon and is pounded by a rough surf.

Under a new compact that Congress must approve, Micronesia is to become semiautonomous, but the agreement makes no provision for the cleanup. In the 1970's, the U.S. spent

#### Still Waiting

\$105 million to remove nuclear debris from Eniwetok, another test site. It would be a sour memorial to American trusteeship to leave Bikini poisoned, its people in exile. Their day after has lasted 37 years.

#### Private Lives

One can't really call them a ménage à trois, nor are they, strictly, a triangle. But for three years Hsing-Hsing, Ling-Ling and Chia-Chia have been a scandal.

The chemistry between Ling-Ling and Hsing-Hsing, pandas at Washington's National Zoo, seemed weak. Each time she signaled her readiness for mating, he yawned and ate a bamboo shoot. So Ling-Ling got another suitor: the London Zoo's Chia-Chia.

Chia-Chia, however, turned out to be a wife-beater and was sent packing. Then, when Hsing-Hsing finally put down his fodder, Ling-Ling developed a headache. Eventually, she was inseminated with sperm from both pandas and months later started building a nest. Was she ...?

No. Last March, Ling-Ling and Hsing-Hsing finally got the same idea at the same time. But the zoo, taking no chances, also inseminated her with Chia-Chia's sperm again. Who, then, was the father of the short-lived son born in August? Tests now have revealed that it was Hsing-Hsing.

Can Ling-Ling lure him into missing another meal? Can they both forget about Chia-Chia? Can the writers of "All My Children" come up with a better script?

### Letters

## EMP Can't Stop American Nuclear Retaliation

To the Editor:

John Corry's column on the TV movie "The Day After" [Arts and Leisure Nov. 20] suggests that war may be catalyzed by a predictable inability of the United States to launch its retaliatory force because of the effects of electromagnetic pulse (EMP) from a high-altitude nuclear explosion.

In 1954, I wrote one of the first theoretical papers at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory on the origin of EMP from nuclear explosions, and I have followed the evolution of theory, field test and underground experiments. In 1962, I analyzed for President Kennedy's science adviser the results of the Starfish high-altitude space explosion, which revealed an unexpected mechanism for the production of electromagnetic pulse but had barely noticeable effects on military systems. The 1963 limited test ban brought an end to nuclear explosions in space.

Since 1962, the delicacy of some electronics has increased because of

the use of transistors and integrated circuits, but our understanding of electromagnetic pulse has matured so that specific equipment and systems can be tested and guaranteed against disruption by EMP.

Communication to Minuteman silos and other links essential to the strategic retaliatory response have been "hardened" against it, as have the missiles themselves, so that we have confidence in our ability to withhold or to launch our strategic force as required for effective deterrence of nuclear attack. Although nonessential military communications pass over commercial links that may be affected by EMP, the vulnerability of this communications system should not be confused with an inability to retaliate against nuclear attack.

Furthermore, it is inconceivable that the Soviet Union would use nuclear weapons only to produce electromagnetic pulse; many nuclear warheads would attack bomber bases and other vulnerable military targets;

EMP would be the least of our problems at the outbreak of nuclear war.

The President's Commission on Strategic Forces (Scowcroft Commission) had access to all available knowledge on EMP, and its report of April 1983 did not lack confidence in our ability to maintain strategic communications for command and control of the retaliatory force; electromagnetic pulse has been taken into account in the design of strategic retaliatory forces.

Earlier in his column, Mr. Corry, in presenting "a case for arming," says that after a Soviet attack on U.S. missile silos, airfields and military communications centers, "American Trident submarines would still be at sea, but the submarines do not have the ability to fire their missiles with the accuracy necessary to eliminate the second-strike Soviet missiles."

"If an American President declined to surrender after the first Soviet strike and ordered the Trident submarines to launch their missiles," Mr. Corry continues, "he would be condemning our cities to their deaths."

That problem exists even if the Soviet Union does not have the numbers of warheads and accuracy required to destroy U.S. land-based missiles, and even if our submarines do have accuracy permitting the destruction of Soviet silos.

In the first case, the Soviets need only issue the ultimatum "Surrender or die!" In the second, they would simply add, "and if you try to destroy our ICBMs, they will be launched against your cities."

What has deterred the Soviets and will continue to deter them from destroying the United States is the U.S. capability (and commitment) to destroy their society if they destroy ours. This is well understood (but not acknowledged) by those who advance the arguments repeated by Mr. Corry.

Other issues raised in the column — whether deterrence is acceptable morally, whether it can be relied upon indefinitely, the role of arms control — are important and urgent and were addressed in the two brief panel discussions on "Viewpoint" following the showing of "The Day After." The merit of that movie is that it focuses public attention not on the horror of war but on how to prevent it without sacrificing civilization and freedom.

The public is fully capable of judging, and our leaders are, too, if they will open their minds to less familiar views.

One such is that most weapon programs are not bad in themselves, but (like Soviet SS-20 missiles, MX, ICBMs, strategic defenses) are unnecessary, are costly, provoke uncertain military responses and divert attention and effort from what can and must be done, namely, maintaining deterrence at continuously declining risk of war.

Little reasoned opposition is heard in the Soviet Union or the United States to the proposal that deterrence be maintained with 1,000 nuclear weapons on either side (instead of the present 20,000-plus) except that the French, British and Chinese armories would then loom too large. If that is the problem, let's get to work on it.

RICHARD L. GARWIN  
Yorktown Heights, N.Y., Nov. 22, 1983  
The writer is a fellow at the IBM Thomas J. Watson Research Center and adjunct professor of physics at Columbia University.

## Western Pollution Gratefully Received

To the Editor:

A seasoned traveler returning from Peking has reported thus:

He went to the Peking Maxim's for dinner. The food was good, the service excellent. When the bill was presented, a quick calculation revealed that with the good French wine the cost came to about \$80. As the traveler, first time in Communist China, reached for his gold American Express card, he became a little perplexed about the no-tipping policy he had heard about and asked the dining-room captain for advice. The smiling Chinese obligingly whispered: "We're French style."

Approvingly, since he was well satisfied with the food and the service, the traveler picked up the pen to sign the sales slip. He was politely and discreetly stopped by the captain: "If you add the tip on the slip, we won't get it."

The traveler then tipped in cash — 10 percent, as suggested by the captain. He was pleased with his deed.

It is against this background that one must view the current Chinese campaign against Western "pollution" (news story Nov. 23). In a country where the average salary is \$30 a month, a waiter at the Peking Maxim's, on the generosity of Westerners, could conceivably make more than

that amount in one night. He is rapidly becoming a member of an elite class much reminiscent of compradors of pre-liberation days: rich, snob-



bish, toadying to everything Western. Then, why a Maxim's in Peking? Why indeed! Why Pierre Cardin's fashion shows? Why Coca-Cola, which costs a young worker's half-day's pay? In short, the Chinese have been inviting Western "pollution." It's a Chinese paradox that is so typical.

TIMOTHY TUNG  
New York, Nov. 23, 1983

## U.S. Understatements of Syrian Ambitions

To the Editor:

Drew Middleton's informative news analysis of Syria's military buildup ("Syria Said to Pass Egypt as a Power," Nov. 19) was only partly correct on one very important point. Mr. Middleton wrote: "Syria believes it is in a position to pursue its goal of a Greater Syria, which would include northern and central Lebanon and Jordan in a new state that would dominate the Arab Middle East."

Syria's vision of a Greater Syria encompasses all of Lebanon, all of Jordan — and all of Israel. Historically, Syria has considered Palestine (Israel and Jordan) as part of southern Syria. In fact, its principal argument against the creation of a

Jewish state in the 1940's was that such a state should not be formed on Syrian territory. Lebanon, which Syria has never recognized, is for similar reasons considered to be part of Greater Syria.

President Reagan, too, offered an incomplete description of Syrian goals when in a recent news conference he referred to Greater Syria as including "part of Lebanon and part of Jordan." An understanding of Syrian ambitions to swallow up Israel, Lebanon and Jordan would aid our policy makers in the formulation of their Middle East policies.

HERBERT ZWIBON  
Chairman, Americans for a Safe Israel  
New York, Nov. 21, 1983

## Rows of 'Iron Curtains' in the History of Civilization

To the Editor:

In his Nov. 23 letter, "Churchill's Debt to the Nazi Sloganeers," L. Fletcher Prouty implies that the phrase "iron curtain" was coined by the Nazis. They used it, but they didn't coin it. Neither, of course, did Winston Churchill, as Mr. Prouty points out.

Churchill's March 5, 1946, speech at Fulton, Mo., is usually given as the source of "iron curtain," although he himself had used it in a June 4, 1945, cablegram to Truman ("I view with profound misgivings . . . the descent of an iron curtain between us and everything to the eastward").

Earlier that year, Joseph Goebbels, Nazi minister of enlightenment and propaganda, wrote in an article in Das Reich: "Should the German people lay down its arms, the agreement between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin would allow the Soviets to occupy all Eastern and Southeastern Europe together with the major part of the Reich. An iron curtain would at once descend on this territory, which, including the Soviet Union, would be of enormous dimensions." A prophetic assessment.

The phrase, however, had been in use earlier. In 1920, Ethel Snowden wrote in "Through Bolshevik Russia": "We were behind the 'iron curtain' at last!" Two years before that, in "Apocalypse of Our Time," Vasily Rozanov wrote: "With a rumble and a roar, an iron curtain is descending on Russian history." So much for the Russian connection.

In 1915, George Washington Crie ("A Mechanistic View of War and Peace") wrote, "Suppose that Mexico were a . . . nation of forty million with a deep-rooted grievance, and an

iron curtain at its frontier." This followed by a year the remark of German-born Elizabeth of Belgium: "Between [Germany] and me there is now a bloody iron curtain which has descended forever."

The earliest usage of the phrase that I have yet found is that of H. G. Wells. In "The Food of the Gods" (1904), he used "iron curtain" to mean "an enforced break of communications with society by an individual."

JOAN HÄVERLY  
New York, Nov. 24, 1983

To the Editor:

That Churchill was not the corner of "iron curtain" has been stated so often that it ought to be old hat. The underlying German words refer to the fireproof curtain of corrugated sheet metal (later, and now presumably no longer, asbestos) used in a theater to close the proscenium opening in case of fire.

What seems to have escaped notice, however, at least until the recent publication of Anthony Bailey's "Along the Edge of the Forest," is Churchill's baffling geographical inaccuracy.

His celebrated statement was: "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the continent." The northern end of the "iron curtain" is not west of Stettin (now Szczecin, Po-

land), where the Oder-Neisse line forms the border between Poland and East Germany, but northeast of Lübeck, at the mouth of the Trave, i.e., at the northern end of the boundary between the former Russian and British zones.

LOUIS MARCK  
New York, Nov. 23, 1983

To the Editor:

The phrase "iron curtain" is found in Tractate Pesachim of the Babylonian Talmud (page 85B), which is almost 2,000 years old.

In a reference to certain portions of the divine service, which may be recited only if there is a quorum of 10 men (called a minyan), Rabbi Yehuda, in the name of Rav, states that a man standing outside the doorway is not counted with those inside the room. Rabbi Joshua Ben Levi disagrees with the opinion and states, "Even an iron curtain cannot interpose between Israel and their Father in Heaven" and, therefore, holds that a man standing outside the doorway is indeed counted among the ones inside the room.

In prayers recited at the end of the nocturnal service of Pentecost, composed around the year 1100, we find the supplication: "Father in Heaven, please remove from us the iron curtain that seems to separate You from us. . . ."

MARCUS REITER  
New York, Nov. 23, 1983

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# In 'Heartbreak House,' G.B. Shaw Portrayed the Death of Optimism

## Arts & Leisure

The play sees civilization as a ship nearing the rocks.

By HELEN DUDAR

**G**eorge Bernard Shaw's life as a man of the theater began while Victoria still sat on the throne of England and proceeded well into the golden age of talking pictures. There are more than 50 plays in the canon; there is, naturally enough, a Shaw Society and, within academia, a flourishing Shawian industry. As much as the scholarly world can agree on anything about Shaw, "Heartbreak House," which opens Wednesday at the Circle in the Square, is widely regarded as a towering achievement, indeed, along with "St. Joan," one of his two master-works.

This does not fully explain why we will shortly be seeing Rex Harrison and Rosemary Harris starring in the play on Broadway, or why two nearby regional theaters recently considered productions of their own. The libraries, after all, are crowded with masterpieces that the American student of serious drama can't count on seeing in half a lifetime of theatergoing.

But this 64-year-old theater piece speaks to our time, an age perennially confronting the reality of nuclear destruction. It is Shaw's doomsday play, among the earlier works "the darkest thing he wrote," according to Robert Brustein, critic, theater scholar and artistic director of the American Repertory Theater at Harvard University.

Mr. Brustein's company considered and then abandoned the idea of staging the play not long ago because it seemed too difficult for a young group. Mr. Brustein, whose appreciation of Shaw is not boundless ("I'm an admirer without being an enthusiast") says that "Heartbreak House" is "the only Shaw we would consider doing. Actually, I think it's his best play. Let me amend that—it's his best play for our age."

The inhabitants and visitors in this balmy country place in Sussex, Shaw tells us in his preface, have given over the rule of the land to incompetents, indeed, "barbarians," who were incapable of governing, uncaring about society's ills and easily led down the path to a terrible war.

Everyone in "Heartbreak House" is concentrated on private concerns except Captain Shotover—its prophetic clown, hawker of dying ideals—and he is very old, half mad and deaf when it suits him. One of his daughters, Hesione, cares mostly about her beauty; the other, Ariadne, is fervent about horses ("There are only two classes in good society... the Equestrian classes and the neurotic classes.") Their husbands are womanizers. The youngest member of this company, Ellie Dunn, is a romantic innocent who will lose all her illusions.

Moreover, nothing in this place is quite what it seems at the start. Mangan, the capitalist, owns nothing. Hesione's husband, Hector, has stories that are all false. Shotover, the sage, fuels himself and his visions on rum.

According to Michael Holroyd, who has been at work in London on a major life of Shaw since 1978 and hopes to be finished by the decade's end, the play can be and has been seen as "the Fabian view of the Bloomsbury cul-

If Shaw had not imagined a nuclear holocaust, he had recognized that civilization was able to destroy itself.

ture." More than 20 years after he had completed it, Bernard Shaw wrote to Virginia Woolf that he had conceived the play "in that house [of hers] somewhere in Sussex where I first met you and of course fell in love with you."

Shaw may have loved her but he and all the Fabian socialists felt the Bloomsbury esthetes—the Woolfs, the Belles, the Strachey, among others—were charming but dangerous. "To Shaw, they were not politically serious enough," Mr. Holroyd said. "And he criticized Virginia because she believed the Fabians were not important."

Leon Katz, a Shaw scholar who is chairman of dramaturgy and drama criticism at Yale, says his students respond to this play—more accurately, they tend to "respect it" without really loving it—because it is populated with identifiable figures.

"They recognize all these types, not as contemporary types but as the equivalents of contemporary types: the capitalist, the nationalist, the socialist, the upper-class people who think they have no particular connection with the running of society," he said.

The play, written during World War I, proceeds through two-and-a-half acts of the kind of mordant humor and witty social commentary so characteristic of Shaw's hand. "The real joke," he once said, "is that I am earnest." Without warning, with no mention that nations are at war, planes are heard overhead. A bomb drops. Two people die. The curtain descends on the melancholy sound of a flute playing "Keep the Home Fires Burning."

If Shaw had not imagined a nuclear holocaust, he had, through four years of carnage, recognized that modern civilization was advanced enough to destroy itself. A while back, when Lloyd Richards, dean of the Yale Drama School and artistic director of the Yale Repertory Theater, was planning to stage "Heartbreak House" this fall—a plan aborted because the Shaw estate would not allow a second production within competing distance of Broadway—he was haunted by an image for the final curtain.

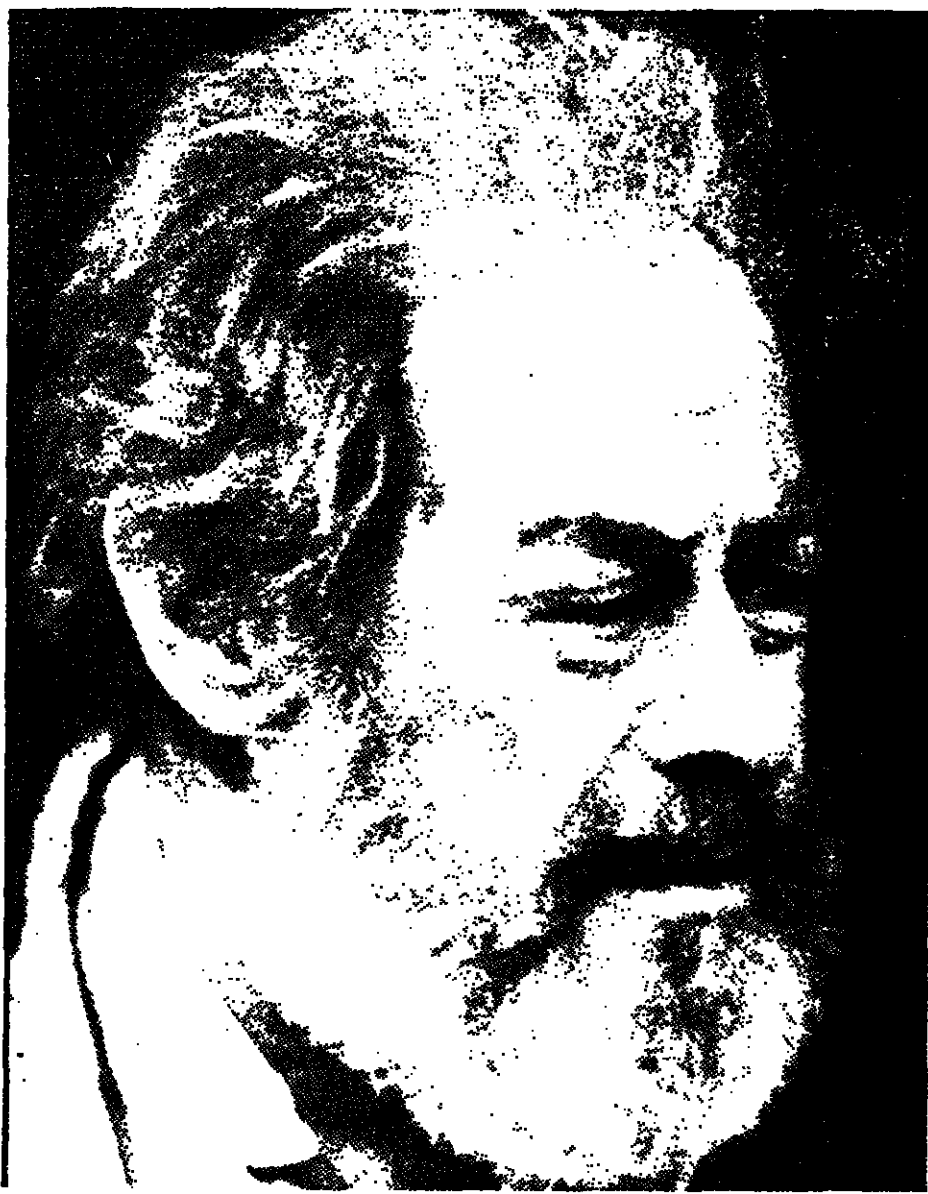
The experts promise that, among all living creatures, the cockroach, that sturdy curse of the urban classes, will survive the radiation sickness that fallout brings. "I was going to have a gigantic mechanical roach crawl out on the stage," Mr. Richards says. "That's all I could see. That was my image of the end of the play."

Nothing so stark was invented by Shaw for the last act. In fact, the pampered inhabitants of "Heartbreak House," too remote from reality even to understand what the future promises, treat the bombing as if some generous unknown theatermaster had just provided a great show in the sky. "But what a glorious experience!" exults Hesione Hushabye, the beauty of the house. "I hope they'll come again tomorrow night."

As Shaw announces in his preface, "Heartbreak House" is not merely the title of the play. "It is cultured leisure Europe before the war."

"Heartbreak House," he goes on, "was far too lazy and shallow to extricate itself from this palace of evil enchantment. It rhapsodized about love; but it believed in cruelty. It was afraid of cruel people; and it saw that cruelty was at least effective.... Heartbreak House in short did not know how to live, at which point all that was left to it was the boast that at least it knew how to die...."

Because the play is set in a country house and because the author labeled it "a fantasia in the Russian



Rex Harrison, left, stars in the revival opening Wednesday at Circle in the Square. At right, the playwright in his prime.

manner," it is usually considered his homage to Chekhov. For much of the time, the work is as Chekhovian as warm beer. It is plotless and it is farcical rather than comic. But the final nighttime scene that precedes the bombing has a dreamy, lyric quality, a rare exposure of what Mr. Brustein has called "the suppressed poet" in Shaw.

It is this quality of the play, Mr. Brustein says, that appeals to him, as well as to his students who, on the whole, regard many of Shaw's works as "artifacts, like Schiller. My students don't know what Shaw has to do with them. They love Ibsen; they respond very strongly to Chekhov. But 'Heartbreak House' is more than just intelligent discourse. It has feeling and it has metaphysical reach. The poet begins to emerge here."

The play's central metaphor is civilization as a ship about to crash upon the rocks. It is also about love and marriage and money and, for the first time, old age. Although Shaw was only in his late fifties, there is a palpable sense of fatigue about the work.

It was perhaps something on the order of intellectual exhaustion. Shaw, socialist, reformer, educator, orator, was confronting the likelihood that society's ills were not to be healed by a rational philosophy. Prof. Katz says that in common with other writers who had done their major work before 1914—Henry James among them—the outbreak of the war came as a "devastating" shock to Shaw. It signaled the death of optimism.

"Just below the surface of civilized life was a kind of chaos they had never suspected," Prof. Katz says. "As Shaw got older, as he moved into the 1930's, his plays became increasingly pessimistic. Eventually, he was saying, all one can do is talk."

In his preface, Shaw says he began the play before the first shot was fired, but swift and fluent though he was as a writer, it took him a long time, and there is some evidence that, overwhelmed by the carnage in Europe, he set it aside for a while. A version was certainly finished by 1917 when his correspondence with Mrs. Patrick Campbell, whom he saw in the role of Hesione, mentions a reading he did of the work.

Since it was hardly a theme that would find any favor in wartime, Shaw held on to it and did not publish the play until 1919. The following year, he gave it to the American Theater Guild for its premiere production. An extremely young Orson Welles played the 88-year-old Captain Shotover in a Mercury Theater production in 1938; Maurice Evans behind a Shawian beard stepped into the character 21 years later in the most recent Broadway production of the play.

The Shawian adornment was not accidental. The character of Shotover has been seen as Shaw's Lear and, alternatively, as Shaw's Shaw, the most complete dramatic representation of the author himself in any of his works. Mr. Harrison, for one, feels that all of Shaw's plays are populated by representations of their author.

The play has nearly always invited violent views. When it opened in London in 1921, Desmond McCarthy, one of the major critics of the period, wrote that the press criticism had been "disgraceful." James Agate was almost alone in finding "Heartbreak House" to have been "exhilarating and deeply moving—among the great testaments."

On this side of the ocean, when the play was first published, Edmund Wilson and Stark Young both thought it was the best Shaw work, but Young emerged from the 1938 Welles production denouncing the play as "garrulous, unfelt and tiresome."

Prof. Katz remembers a "magnificent" production, starring the late Robert Donat as Shotover, in wartime London 40-odd years ago. "It failed," he says. "Interestingly enough, the same season or the next one, 'Arms and the Man' was a resounding success. As a satire on the military, it was utterly charming. But during the war, the English were not prepared to tolerate the pessimism of 'Heartbreak House.'"

Mr. Harrison comes to New York as Shotover with a successful three-month run in London behind him. Judging by how frequently it is revived, this play can make some claim to increasing popularity. It had been staged only a decade earlier at the National Theater with a memorable final scene. John Russell Brown, the theater's dramaturg, who is teaching this year at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, N.Y., says "the final act was very bleak and almost Beckettian—a landscape totally open to destruction."

Yet, considering that he is this century's major English-language playwright, productions of Shaw's plays remain a scarce commodity. Mr. Brustein insists that among the young, interest in him is "dimming." Prof. Katz reports that his students, while acknowledging the importance of "Heartbreak House," really prefer "Pygmalion," not because it inspired a more famous musical

called "My Fair Lady," but "because it's his potboiler, his romantic theater."

On the other hand, Mr. Brown reports that when he joined the National Theater he thought "Heartbreak House" was "the only Shaw play to do," and then discovered that successfully staging it created "a colossal appetite" for more Shaw.

One continuing problem, he says, is that Shaw is never easy to do. "You can't feel your way into it as though Shaw is ordinary realistic drama. It's like trying to do a drawing room play in a gymnasium." What is wanted, he goes on, are accomplished actors who under-

stand that Shaw's thought and speech are never divorced from "people in life."

"He learned his art as a dramatist by standing on a soap box in Clapham Common and making people listen to him talk of the ills of the world," Mr. Brown concluded. "His plays, once we allow them to be played with that kind of energy, clarity and passion, will also draw a crowd."

Helen Dudar is a frequent contributor to Arts and Leisure.

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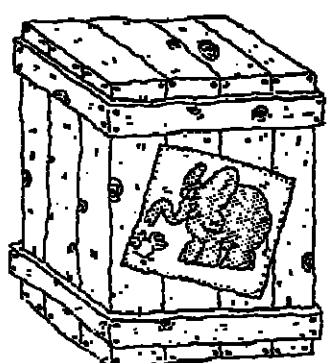
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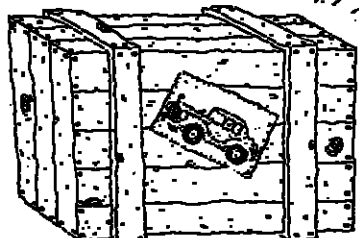


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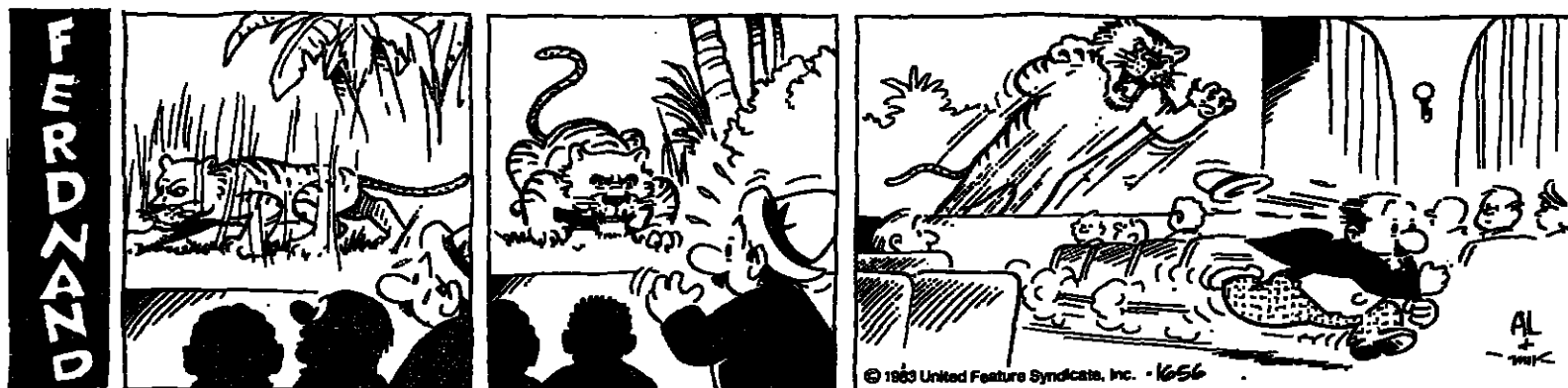


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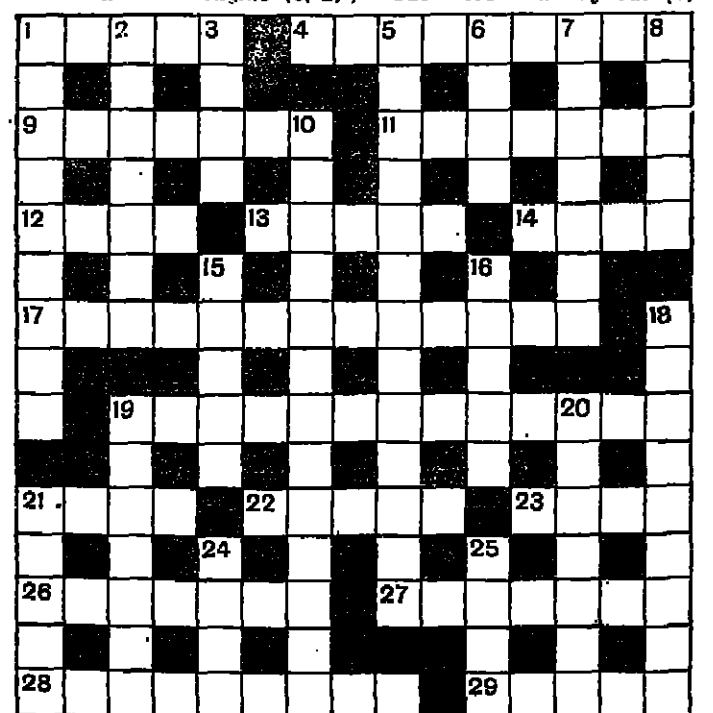


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## ONE-AND-ONE CROSSWORD

- ACROSS**
- 1 Maxim for the Christian era (5)
  - 4 Big gain for stout golf instructor enjoying good health? (3, 6)
  - 9 Displayed a willingness to invest apparently (4, 3)
  - 11 Breakfast for people in bed? (7)
  - 12 Court one of the four children (4)
  - 13 Match for a homely goddess (5)
  - 14 Moulding nothing but an enthusiastic American response (4)
  - 17 We have age right representing the proper figure too (7, 6)
  - 19 The spectre of war (7, 6)
  - 21 Share certificate 007 (4)
  - 22 Gem found in First Avenue? (5)
  - 23 Take in victim of beach pollution maybe (4)
  - 26 An obnoxious nitwit in Belgium (7)
  - 27 Self-expression (7)
  - 28 Shows what happens when E double-flat is written (9)
  - 29 How to arrest excessive wear in a new engine (3, 2)
- DOWN**
- 1 Balanced like the sides of a cube (3, 6)
  - 2 Demonstrate by setting it in semi-precious stone (7)
  - 3 A broken nose for Adam's grandson (4)
  - 5 Make up one's mind to enter dive (4, 3, 6)
  - 6 Carried away all tied up one bears (4)
  - 7 The burden carried by a father with eight (7)
  - 8 Sense exhibited by people of culture (5)
  - 10 There will be trouble when it's Old Nick's turn to shout (3, 5, 2, 3)
  - 15 Ward off Jerusalem's score maker (5)
  - 16 Look astonished at a torn page (5)
  - 17 Grown up cowboy? (9)
  - 18 Are they ticked off as the secretary reads them? (7)
  - 20 Gathering about the wedding (7)
  - 21 What an accommodating timber merchant can supply (5)
  - 24 Fit promise made by us (4)
  - 25 "die" - says the maxim, but there is a way out (4)



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- 4 Small grin

**DOWN**

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- 11 Drunkard
- 12 Turning tool
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- 15 Mid-range voice

### YESTERDAY'S SOLUTION

**ACROSS**: 1. Cough, 4. Screw, 9. Project, 10. Ratio, 11. Loh, 12. Manacle, 13. Hip, 14. Mace, 15. Rude, 16. Buy, 17. Gage, 18. Tug, 19. Light, 20. Netball, 21. Tugger, 22. Mandy, 23. Convey, 24. Edifice, 25. Blower, 26. Stamp, 27. Reluctant, 28. Allegory, 29. Blimp, 30. Blink, 31. Medley, 32. Yeast, 33. Stem.

## Money Matters

### Orgad's steps 'will have little effect'

By MACABEE DEAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. - The series of economic and financial steps taken by Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad "can contribute very little to taming inflation and to putting the country's economy on the road to recovery." This is the opinion expressed in a study just released by Euroteam, a financial consultancy firm.

Moreover, the study says "the regulating of the bank shares by the government has led to the injection of an unprecedentedly high sum into the economy, which might wipe out the effects of the positive steps undertaken by the Finance Ministry."

The survey lists the steps already taken by the authorities to "cool off" the economy: cutting subsidies on basic food items; imposing an education fee; increasing travel tax; cutting \$10 million from the

Education Ministry's budget, and another \$8m. from the Ministry of Social Affairs; freezing the civil service, and reducing payments to civil servants.

"All these steps must be seen against the background of the magnitude of the entire problem which the government must solve."

The government spent \$3.4 billion more in 1982/83 than it received in taxes and other incomes; in 1981/82 the deficit was \$3.6 billion. Meanwhile, the government printed the equivalent of \$1.4b. in 1982/83 and \$1.6b. in 1981/82.

"Cutting \$18m. from the two government ministries constitutes only half a per cent of the government's deficit spending, and about 1.2 per cent of its printing of money. Such minor cuts in spending can have very little effect on the overall picture," says the study.

The government took steps during the same period which could

lead to a worsening in the economy, the study charges. It paid out \$600m. in support of the commercial bank shares. "This is almost half the entire printing of money in 1982/83."

The government hopes that the provident funds, the pension funds and the insurance companies will buy the commercial bank shares now in the government's hands. But these institutions would much prefer to buy government index-linked bonds, bearing 6.5 per cent interest, than dollar-linked banking shares, even if they pay more interest, says the study.

The survey notes that part of the \$600m. the government has spent to support the commercial bank shares "was used to buy foreign currency (patam), thus causing a reduction in the money in circulation." But the public could easily pull this money out of the patam accounts, and spend it, thus increasing inflationary pressures, the study says.

### Property was 'best investment' of last decade

By AARON SITTNER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

So, what's the best investment in Israel today?

Following the fireworks at the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange in October, fewer and fewer financial pundits are willing to estimate the financial future of this or that investment vehicle.

However, when it comes to hindsight there is no shortage of experts, especially when they have an axe to grind. An example of such historical sharpshooting is contained in a study just released by the Federation of Contractors and Builders, whose three-day biennial convention gets underway in Jerusalem this evening.

"In the ten-year period between 1973 and 1983 the best investment in Israel was the purchase of a residential housing unit," according to Binyamin Kandler, a federation

economist. "In that period, prices of flats rose 342-fold on the average. Comparatively, the Consumer Price Index rose 247-fold; the government debt index, 292-fold; and the price of the U.S. dollar, 130-fold."

"True, the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange share index rose 435-fold in that same ten-year period. However, the collapse of share prices in the past two months has all but wrecked the investment advantage that had been claimed for equities," Kandler argues.

The comparisons by the federation economist are based upon price surveys of three- and four-room flats in four-, six- and eight-story buildings in medium-priced, centrally located neighbourhoods of nine cities: Ashdod, Beersheba, Be'er-Brak, Bat-Yam, Holon, Kfar Sava, Netanya, Petah Tikva and Ra'anana.

While the average increase in

market prices for these three- and four-room flats was 342 times the purchase price 10 years earlier, Kandler found that the four-room units actually increased 346-fold in price while the three-room flats did so by 335-times-the-purchase-price.

What is more, the prices advanced more for flats in developing neighbourhoods than those in neighbourhoods that had already been developed 10 years ago.

Among the star performers in Kandler's study are the following: an 80-square-metre, three-room flat in a medium-priced neighbourhood in Petah Tikva which sold for \$57,000 in August 1973, grew 367-fold by August 1983, and sold for \$52,578,000. Another big gainer was a four-room, 117-square-metre flat in central Beersheba. In August 1973 it changed hands for \$59,000. By August 1983 it was selling for \$53,750,000 - a 416-fold increase in price.

### Banks plan increases in service fees

By MACABEE DEAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. - The commercial banks are considering revising their fees for all banking services, and the first revision will probably be to raise the price charged for each transaction on the stock exchange.

The present charge is \$100, and although no new price has been set, \$500 has been suggested. If this sum is decided upon, it will probably take effect early in January.

The banks are also considering raising the annual fee they charge for issuing, or renewing, a credit card; charging a fee for each use of their automatic tellers; and charging for each personal payment of such bills as electricity, water and municipal rates. However, if these bills are paid automatically through standing orders, no fee will be charged.

### Dollar value of all stocks down 11 per cent in November

By MACABEE DEAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. - The dollar value of all stocks traded on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange dropped by 11 per cent, to stand at \$6.8 billion, from November 1 to 29, according to the Securiteam financial consultants.

Commercial banks constituted 65 per cent of the entire market activity. Despite the "arrangement" which gave government support to most of the banks, they fell in value

by eight per cent (or \$400 million) the period under review.

During this period the dollar rose by 13 per cent in relation to the shekel. Thus, if bank shares are supported at their "shekel price," the shekel is devalued, the share loses a part of their dollar value.

The ten biggest companies account for 68 per cent of the entire market, compared to only 47 per cent at the end of 1982.

The ten biggest companies:

Name	\$m. value 31.12.82	\$m. value 31.10.83	\$m. value 29.11.83	rise or fall in \$m.	rise or fall since Dec. 82 in \$m.	rise or fall in per cent since Dec.
Hapsonim	1,926	1,413	1,300	(119)	(627)	(33)
Leumi	1,772	1,264	1,214	(50)	(558)	(31)
IDB	887	666	614	(52)	(278)	(31)
Discount	652	508	484	(22)	(168)	(26)
Mizrahi	418	369	344	(25)	(74)	(18)
IDB Dev.	418	293	162	(131)	(256)	(61)
Elron	153	111	141	30	(12)	(8)
Elbit	88	72	135	68	47	53
Dead Sea	768	150	125	(25)	(631)	(83)
Citil	514	121	92	(29)	(442)	(83)

Figures in brackets denote a loss; those without brackets denote gains

### Norwegian firm advises Soviets on offshore oil

OSLO (Reuters). - A Norwegian company which has emerged as a leading international surveyor of offshore oil and gas finds is advising the Soviet Union how to exploit its petroleum resources in the Barents Sea.

GECO (the Geophysical Company of Norway) is a major by-product of the country's offshore oil industry and has grown in the last 11 years into the third-largest concern of its kind in the world.

Along with six other Norwegian companies, GECO last week handed over to the Soviets a plan of how they could help Moscow to map and exploit petroleum resources in the tough climatic conditions of the Barents Sea, which oil industry experts say could contain vast reserves of oil and gas.

Norway and the Soviet Union meet next month to attempt to divide the continental shelf under the sea, after three years of deadlock. Despite these political differences the Norwegian companies are advising the Soviets, but say they project involves drilling in areas firmly within the Soviet sector.

**CHILE AGREEMENT.** - The Manufacturers Associations of Israel and Chile signed an agreement at the end of last week providing for joint activities in areas including the fields of production, marketing and exchange of information.

**U.S. UNEMPLOYMENT.** - The U.S. unemployment rate fell sharply in November under the impact of the strong economic recovery to 6 per cent, the lowest level in 10 years, the Labour Department reported.

### The 6th World Congress of Engineers and Architects in Israel

on the  
**Development of the Desert and Sparsely Populated Areas**

will be held December 18-23, 1983 at the Hilton Hotel, Tel Aviv  
For details concerning programme and registration, please contact the Association of Engineers and Architects in Israel, 200 Dizengoff St. Tel Aviv. Tel: 03-240274

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### DON'T BE FUELISH

Conserve energy.



## 263 issues rise 5% or more

**AVIV.** — With the General Index, commercial banks rose up 4.85 per cent and with less than a little joy on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, statistics for the day made a positive reading with the service sector, land development, real estate and citrus plantations, and investment groups all in gains of up to 6 per cent.

Volatility Index, which is the relation between high and major losers, stood at 33 and only eight issues fell or were unchanged.

Far as the other banks were concerned, the Tel Aviv Bank of Israel shares both established as "buyers" for the second consecutive day and when trading reopened today these shares could be a major upward move as well as trading without any restraints.

International Bank was also a "buyers only" list while FIBI through with a 7.6 per cent gain.

0.5 per cent gain achieved by Leasing O.I. led a rising financial institution.

Insurance equities were up notably when compared with groups of trading. Yardenia as the outstanding performer at 10.2 per cent gain.

Service and trade group was ahead with hotel stocks performing strongly and reflecting about 10 per cent. The of hotels have recently been

### Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MORGENTHAU

Under close scrutiny by banks' research departments, and the public apparently likes what it has read.

Surging advances marked the land development, real estate and citrus plantation sector. Gains of up to 10 per cent were liberally scattered throughout the sector. The options did even better, on a percentage basis, with gains of up to 26 per cent to be noted.

Industrials were also well up. Starting with Agan, which gained 10 per cent, and running throughout the group, the 10 per cent gains were enough to tickle the fancy of shareholders and possibly make the "sideliners" wish they had thought of participating in the market. Elron was one of the many 10 per cent winners. Arik continues to make headlines and advanced by 7.8 per cent. Pri-Sea shot ahead by 15 per cent. The Dead Sea Works spurred ahead by 10.1 per cent.

Investment company issues did not disappoint. Israel Corporation 5 was a 10 per cent gainer as Clal Industries was up by 9.1 per cent. Discount Investments spurred ahead by 5.3 per cent.

Trading activity in the index-linked bond market fell below the

levels achieved in share trading but was nevertheless just over 15537 million. Isolated gains of up to two per cent were visible in some of the index-linked bond groups.

The shares of Binyan Mortgage Bank have been the subject of many mentions in this column, as we have awaited the results of a Securities Authority investigation into allegedly improper trading practices in these shares. The Executive Committee of the Exchange took matters into its own hands and decided to relegate the Binyan share trading from the regular trading session and the shares will now trade only in the "computerized" section. This will make it nearly impossible to try to manipulate the movement of the shares.

The Phoenix Israel Insurance Co. Ltd. announced its intention to issue to shareholders bonus shares in the order of 100 per cent.

The Executive Committee of the Exchange announced its decision to promote the Alliance Tire and Rubber shares from "computerized trading" to the regular trading session.

There was no trading in the shares of Ummar Textiles as the exchange announced that it was having difficulty in carrying out trading in these shares as part of "computerized trading."

FIBI Holding Co. Ltd. announced yesterday that the June 30 deal whereby Discount would acquire shares of the First International Bank will go ahead.

### Commercial Banks

Bank	Price	Volume	Change	% Change
IDB	85300	—	—	—
IDB p	3725	1745	-111	-2.9
IDB p 1	3725	15	-90	-2.4
IDB p 2	22500	—	-1300	-5.6
IDB p 3	2580	70	-100	-3.7
Union O.I.	2724	882	-115	-4.1
Discount	4899	54	-70	-1.4
Discount A	1532	264	-213	-13.9
Discount B	3771	34	-1	-0.03
Discount C	559	99	-4	-0.7
Mizrahi	1508	2950	-27	-1.8
Mizrahi p	1508	29	-27	-1.8
Mizrahi p 1	2540	71	-135	-5.1
Mizrahi p 2	930	1093	-30	-3.0
Mizrahi p 3	12700	70	-458	-3.5
Mizrahi p 4	700	972	n.c.	—
Mizrahi p 5	212	b.o.t.	+10	+5.0
Mizrahi p 6	124	b.o.t.	+6	+5.1
Mizrahi p 7	3179	—	-130	-3.9
Hapoalim	2242	30	-43	-1.9
Hapoalim p	2610	302	n.c.	—
Hapoalim p 1	4820	187	-130	-2.6
Hapoalim p 2	n.c.	no trading	—	—
Hapoalim p 3	9469	44	-320	-3.3
General A	6360	44	-255	-3.9
General B	34000	—	—	—
General C	14000	6	-900	-6.0
General D	6000	3	-40	-6.7
General E	4845	4	-70	-1.4
General F	305	411	-5	-1.6
General G	1532	3230	-22	-1.4
Leumi p 1	2100	3	-101	-4.6
Leumi p 2	610	310	-17	-2.7
Leumi p 3	1160	1	+40	+3.6
Leumi p 4	2150	10	-90	-4.0
Leumi p 5	1915	10	-90	-4.0
Leumi p 6	1870	20	-70	-3.7
Leumi p 7	282	29	n.c.	—
Leumi p 8	1044	623	-40	-3.7
Leumi p 9	1175	2	-5	-0.4
Leumi p 10	114	239	+3	+2.6
Leumi p 11	274	445	+5	+1.8
Leumi p 12	304	b.o.t.	+14	+4.8
Leumi p 13	384	2079	+30	+7.6

### Land, Real Estate, Citrus

Company	Price	Volume	Change	% Change
Oren	167	198	+9	+6.1
Oren p	199	85	+25	+12.4
Asvion Prop.	71	628	+15	+21.1
Asvion	202	156	+25	+12.4
Asvion p	95	441	+13	+15.9
Elion	48	87	+4	+8.3
Elion p	30	100	+2	+6.7
Amnonim	218	60	+13	+5.9
Amnonim p	105	45	+13	+12.4
Africa Isr. O.I.	1975	30	-95	-4.8
Africa Isr. 1.0	1920	30	-50	-2.6
Africa Isr. 2.0	3690	—	—	—
Africa Isr. 3.0	b.o.t.	+4	+9.9	—
Africa Isr. 4.0	61	109	+10	+16.4
Aradon	315	65	+5	+1.6
Aradon p	130	55	+12	+9.2
Aradon p 1	22	11	+1	+4.5
Aradon p 2	100	27	+2	+2.0
Aradon p 3	100	307	+6	+6.0
Aradon p 4	105	376	+6	+5.7
Aradon p 5	224	17	+20	+9.8
Aradon p 6	92	b.o.t.	+4	+4.4
Aradon p 7	46	109	+2	+4.3
Aradon p 8	208	23	+4	+1.9
Aradon p 9	135	78	n.c.	—
Aradon p 10	140	—	—	—

### Mortgage Banks

Bank	Price	Volume	Change	% Change
Gen. Mortgage	925	21	+25	+2.8
Gen. Mortgage p	1367	30	+2	+0.1
Gen. Mortgage p 1	1361	—	—	—
Gen. Mortgage p 2	1575	2	n.c.	—
Gen. Mortgage p 3	1025	42	+125	+13.9
Gen. Mortgage p 4	145	n.c.	—	—
Gen. Mortgage p 5	n.c.	no trading	—	—
Gen. Mortgage p 6	895	7	n.c.	—
Gen. Mortgage p 7	958	16	+38	+11.5
Gen. Mortgage p 8	3685	6	n.c.	—
Gen. Mortgage p 9	3685	—	—	—
Gen. Mortgage p 10	1480	34	+80	+5.7
Gen. Mortgage p 11	1500	3	-10	-0.7
Gen. Mortgage p 12	1490	25	-10	-0.7
Gen. Mortgage p 13	3060	—	—	—
Gen. Mortgage p 14	558	13	-4	-0.7
Gen. Mortgage p 15	181	2146	n.c.	—
Gen. Mortgage p 16	314	30	+10	+3.3
Gen. Mortgage p 17	310	87	+12	+4.0
Gen. Mortgage p 18	104	168	+5	+5.1
Gen. Mortgage p 19	225	291	+10	+4.7

### Financial Institutions

Company	Price	Volume	Change	% Change
Shilon	146	595	+4	+2.8
Shilon p	837	b.o.t.	+88	+11.8
Leumi Ind. B	783	7	-2	-0.3
Leumi Ind. B p	786	—	—	—
Leumi Ind. B p 1	123	b.o.t.	+6	+5.1
Leumi Ind. B p 2	889	—	—	—
Leumi Ind. B p 3	700	1	+109	+16.0
Leumi Ind. B p 4	233	145	+21	+9.9
Leumi Ind. B p 5	172	b.o.t.	+3	+1.7
Leumi Ind. B p 6	123	23	+30	+19.9
Leumi Ind. B p 7	636	120	+35	+5.8

### Insurance

Company	Price	Volume	Change	% Change
Arche	358	179	+23	+6.9
Arche p	171	25	+9	+5.6
Arche p 1	2970	—	—	—
Arche p 2	418	8	-2	-0.5
Arche p 3	161	13	+4	+2.6
Arche p 4	161	13	+4	+2.6
Arche p 5	161	13	+4	+2.6
Arche p 6	161	13	+4	+2.6
Arche p 7	161	13	+4	+2.6
Arche p 8	161	13	+4	+2.6
Arche p 9	161	13	+4	+2.6
Arche p 10	161	13	+4	+2.6

### Trade, Services & Utilities

Company	Price	Volume	Change	% Change
Galei Zohar	331	16	n.c.	—
Galei Zohar p	300	—	—	—
Galei Zohar p 1	86	62	n.c.	—
Galei Zohar p 2	266	2	n.c.	—
Galei Zohar p 3	1635	53	+140	+9.4
Galei Zohar p 4	367	16	+34	+9.9
Galei Zohar p 5	134	136	n.c.	—
Galei Zohar p 6	39	132	n.c.	—
Galei Zohar p 7	342	177	+23	+7.2
Galei Zohar p 8	210	270	+27	+13.3
Galei Zohar p 9	720	—	—	—
Galei Zohar p 10	4004	4	+364	+10.0
Galei Zohar p 11	n.c.	no trading	—	—
Galei Zohar p 12	549	22	+49	+9.8
Galei Zohar p 13	353	38	+30	+9.3
Galei Zohar p 14	265	74	+26	+10.1
Galei Zohar p 15	385	25	n.c.	—
Galei Zohar p 16	500	—	—	—
Galei Zohar p 17	136	86	+9	+7.1
Galei Zohar p 18	7	3	+65	+17.2
Galei Zohar p 19	1290	1050	+30	+2.4
Galei Zohar p 20	990	103	n.c.	—
Galei Zohar p 21	347	b.o.t.	+16	+4.8
Galei Zohar p 22	342	3	+11	+3.3
Galei Zohar p 23	830	34	+5	+0.6
Galei Zohar p 24	350	3	n.c.	—
Galei Zohar p 25	202	15	+7	+3.6
Galei Zohar p 26	124	b.o.t.	+6	+5.1
Galei Zohar p 27	80	88	+8	+10.0
Galei Zohar p 28	352	b.o.t.	+42	+13.6
Galei Zohar p 29	261	142	+12	+4.8

### Commercial Banks

Bank	Price	Volume	Change	% Change
Bond Ware 0.5	157	102	+9	+6.1
Bond Ware 0.5 p	47	167	+3	+7.7
Bond Ware 0.5 p 1	194	674	+17	+9.0
Bond Ware 0.5 p 2	75	214	+8	+11.9
Bond Ware 0.5 p 3	65	b.o.t.	+7	+10.8
Bond Ware 0.5 p 4	37	159	+5	+15.6
Bond Ware 0.5 p 5	278	b.o.t.	+13	+4.9
Bond Ware 0.5 p 6	138	b.o.t.	+6	+4.9
Bond Ware 0.5 p 7	75	56	-5	-6.0
Bond Ware 0.5 p 8	145	67	+10	+7.4
Bond Ware 0.5 p 9	0.14	b.o.t.	+5	+4.8
Bond Ware 0.5 p 10	65	5	-1	-1.5
Bond Ware 0.5 p 11	46	b.o.t.	+3	+6.1
Bond Ware 0.5 p 12	246	110	+32	+13.0
Bond Ware 0.5 p 13	145	-20	-13.9	-9.6
Bond Ware 0.5 p 14	156	77	+12	+8.5
Bond Ware 0.5 p 15	400	—	—	—
Bond Ware 0.5 p 16	206	45	+9	+4.6
Bond Ware 0.5 p 17	1350	5	n.c.	—
Bond Ware 0.5 p 18	560	244	+34	+6.5
Bond Ware 0.5 p 19	270	37	+49	+22.2
Bond Ware 0.5 p 20	890	8	n.c.	—
Bond Ware 0.5 p 21	690	11	+30	+4.6

### Land, Real Estate, Citrus

Company	Price	Volume	Change	% Change
Oren	167	198	+9	+6.1
Oren p	199	85	+25	+12.4
Asvion Prop.	71	628	+15	+21.1
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Amnonim	218	60	+13	+5.9
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Africa Isr. 2.0	3690	—	—	—
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## Pressure on Damascus

TENSIONS arising from the confrontation between Israel and the U.S. on the one side and Syria on the other side over Lebanon were running high for some time before Premier Yitzhak Shamir conferred with President Ronald Reagan in the White House last week. It was a safe bet that the situation in Lebanon would be a major subject of discussion between the two leaders and their aides.

On his return home last Friday Mr. Shamir reported that he saw eye-to-eye with Mr. Reagan on Lebanon, Israel and the U.S., the premier said, viewed "Syrian aggression, massively supported by the Soviet Union," to be the main obstacle to "a settlement which could provide stability."

This much could, of course, have been expected, and it hardly required Mr. Shamir's confirmation. The question left unanswered was, what concrete plans, if any, were devised in Washington to concert Israeli and American action vis-à-vis the Syrians.

Yesterday the two leading London newspapers, the *Observer* and the *Sunday Times* provided an answer of their own: Israel and the U.S. are supposed to have reached a "secret agreement" last week to use military pressure on the Syrian forces in Lebanon to induce the ailing President Hafez Assad to withdraw from that country. Under that agreement, the U.S. would provide Israel with a protective umbrella against any threat of Soviet intervention on the side of the Syrians.

The "unprecedented" pledges of American military, financial and political aid to Israel were said to be "the price demanded by Shamir for an important and dangerous service yet to be rendered."

Could all this be true? One proof of the report was supposed to have been the Israeli air force strike Saturday morning on the bases of Syrian-connected terrorists. This was alleged to have been "a first taste of what is to come." But this raid, carried out in retaliation for a series of terrorist attacks on Israeli soldiers in Lebanon, was itself only the latest in a recent series.

Whether this worn-out method of Israeli response is ideal in treating the terrorist disease is moot. But it certainly did not prove the existence of an American-Israeli accord to initiate "military pressure" on the Syrians.

The lacking proof might be thought to have been offered by the strike launched by U.S. navy aircraft yesterday morning on Syrian targets in the Shouf and Matan mountains, in reprisal for Syrian firing the previous day on American planes conducting a "routine reconnaissance mission" over the area. But the American action, though plainly supported by Israel, had not at all been coordinated with Jerusalem, so it was asserted vigorously yesterday.

There is nevertheless, it seems, a kernel of truth in the allegation of an agreement between Israel and the U.S. on Lebanon. The leaders of the two countries, the Foreign Ministry's spokesman has conceded, agreed to put political pressure on Syria to evacuate the Land of the Cedars. What such political pressure could amount to, seeing that Washington's, let alone Jerusalem's, leverage on Damascus is nothing to crow about, remains, however, a mystery.

Perhaps Mr. Shamir, in reporting to the Knesset on his Washington talks today, will help elucidate the point. In doing so the premier could also usefully make it clear that, for all America's urgings on Israel to adopt a more "assertive" posture on Syria, this country still does not intend to be drawn into a major conflict with the Syrians except in strict self-defence.

## Co-L ADVANCE

(Continued from Page One)  
secretary-general Yeroham Meshel announced that "if the members of the Coordinating Committee do not agree to pay an advance, the labour federation will instruct the workers committees in each plant to take appropriate industrial action."

Shortly after this announcement, the private employers group announced it had informed all its member companies which employ some 700,000 persons (of which only 300,000 work in industry) to pay a 13 per cent advance on December 25.

The employers also announced that "any plant or undertaking which cannot pay, or finds that payment will endanger its financial situation, may make other arrangements."

Moreover, the private employers group regretted the "unilateral breaking off of negotiations by the Histadrut, for this is what we consider its decision to order payment of the advance by the Histadrut enterprises without waiting to resume negotiations." The talks were broken off on Thursday by

both sides for "consultations."

Eli Laniado, spokesman for the Coordinating Committee, added later that "it is a shame we could not come to an agreement. For if we did, we could work jointly with the government to see that the taxes on these advances are reduced. We have lost this chance, and the workers will suffer."

Commenting on the Histadrut decision, the Finance Ministry said yesterday that if no agreement is reached between the labour federation and employers by the end of the month, it will instruct employers in the public sector to pay advance compensation of 13 per cent as in the private sector.

The Treasury spokesman added that he hopes a solution would be found despite the Histadrut's central committee's "unilateral decision."

The ministry called upon the labour federation to resume negotiations, and added that only after this is done can a solution to all the issues involved, including the adjustment of tax brackets, be solved.

## DEIR AL-KAMAR

(Continued from Page One)

pleted within a maximum of a period of 10 days," Salzman said.

Jumblatt's decision was "unconditional," he added. "This humanitarian gesture is on the occasion of leader Kamal Jumblatt's 66th birthday."

Kamal Jumblatt, Walid's father, was assassinated near his mountain village of Moukhtara in 1977. Leadership of Lebanon's Druse community of 250,000 then passed to his only son.

The Druse earlier had said they would not release the Christians in Deir al-Kamar until all Christian militiamen withdrew from Lebanon's Shouf mountains.

In early November, the Druse allowed about 1,000 to leave Deir al-Kamar under Red Cross supervision. The evacuation involved only elderly people and children.

When asked when he thought the new evacuation would begin, Salzman said: "It's up to the Red Cross. We are ready as soon as the Red Cross says it's ready."

HAFAZ AL-ASSAD, the Syrian dictator, is riding high. He has been bloodied but not crushed by the Israeli army; he has gained the patronage of the U.S.S.R. and an abundance of its most modern weapons, and he has humbled the United States.

The murderous attack on the U.S. Marine headquarters, by exposing the inadequacy of U.S. military support for Beirut, will give Assad a cheap victory in controlling political developments in Lebanon.

Even more disconcerting was the fact that U.S. leaders, led by Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger refused to state the obvious truth, afraid of "offending" the man who earned the title "butcher of Hama" for exterminating some 20,000 of his own countrymen in the Syrian city of that name. This tender regard for Assad's feelings — more of an abject surrender — was one of the sordid aspects of the tragic Beirut episode, especially as a wide range of non-military reprisals was available to us. A few which could be mentioned are: commercial and diplomatic restrictions; pressure on Saudi Arabia to stop its financial tribute to Syria; counter-terrorism and tangible support to Syria's opponents. Or, how about opening a U.S. consulate on the Israeli-annexed Golan Heights?

Another fact that could be used against Assad is the large personal fortune stashed away by Assad's family in the United States. Would you believe that Assad's brother, head of intelligence and therefore most directly involved in the Beirut action, has just bought himself a mansion in Bethesda, Maryland?

WHAT WILL Assad do next, after he wipes out the "moderate" faction of the PLO — that is, the faction not yet under his control? And after he massacres, directly or indirectly, Palestinian civilians in

ONLY THE FLIES and debris remain among the rows of tents which until last week housed 4,400 suspected Palestinian and Lebanese terrorists, but the empty camp is a reminder of Israel's dilemma in Lebanon.

Many soldiers heaved a sigh of relief when Israel swapped the Ansar inmates, some of whom had been held since the invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, for six Israeli prisoners of war.

About 1,000 of the Ansar inmates, considered hard-core Palestinian terrorists, were flown to Algeria. The rest were freed in South Lebanon.

Intelligence experts fear that the Palestinians who chose Algeria will return to haunt Israel, but they are divided over the dangers of leaving more than 3,000 suspected Palestinian and Lebanese terrorists free to

THE YOUNG ISRAELI soldier shook his head in disbelief, as a disconsolate Lebanese driver tried to explain how a Kalashnikov assault rifle happened to be hidden in his mini-bus.

Moments earlier, the AK47 had fallen to the ground during the routine search of vehicles crossing the Awali line. It was among a pile of cellophane-wrapped, corduroy trousers which the driver said he was delivering to a Sidon clothes shop.

"I wonder how many of us this has killed," said the soldier, holding up the Soviet-made rifle. Weapons smuggling is one of the reasons Israel cites for increasingly strict security measures that now effectively mean South Lebanon is cut off from the rest of the country for 14 hours a day.

From dusk to dawn, the line is closed. Between 7 a.m. and 5 p.m.,

## READERS' LETTERS

**MIDDLE EAST TV**  
To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — I was shocked by the naivete of Mr. Eugene Kline's letter to The Jerusalem Post on November 21, in which he praises the Middle East Network, which telecasts from Christian-held Southern Lebanon. While Mr. Kline describes this network as without an axe to grind against Israel, he disregards their very axe... three out of every eight hours of programming are dedicated to the Christian missionary cause, with daily programmes calling on Jews to convert to Christianity! Tiberias. **DEBBI SHAPIRO**

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# ASSAD'S OPTIONS

By S. FRED SINGER

Lebanese refugee camps that have been protected by the Arafat faction of the PLO? Quite unintentionally, Israel's success in crippling the PLO also undermined Arafat's leadership and removed the organization as an effective challenge to Syrian hegemony over Lebanon.

All directions are now open to Assad: after all, Syria is centrally located and borders six countries. Let us see if we can do a simple cost-benefit analysis for the Syrian dictator, who looks so much like a western business executive.

Turkey is out — too tough and nothing to be gained. Lebanon is mostly occupied by Syria, anyway; Assad is not likely to give up the territory he now holds — some 60 per cent of the country.

Historically, Jordan was the largest part of the Palestine mandate: it had been South Syria and administered from Damascus (as was Lebanon) before the Turks lost control of the region. Jordan is an artificial creation of the British, who wanted to find a suitable throne for a Hashemite prince so why not conquer and annex it?

But Jordan has no natural resources to speak of, and the Palestinian people are likely to be hostile to Syria, and to Assad personally. As Sunni Moslems, they abhor Assad's brand of Islam; they

sympathize with the people of Hama and with the PLO faction that is being obliterated by Assad.

The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, no lover of Israel, has already called for Assad's assassination and promised other-worldly rewards to the perpetrator.

ISRAEL would be a prime target for Assad, for all sorts of reasons: reclaiming lost Syrian territory; "liberating" all of Palestine, but then making it part of Syria and pushing the Jews into the sea. But Israel is too tough a nut to crack, even with the best of Soviet weapons, as long as U.S. technology and resources support Israel.

Now, Assad is a patient man who may feel that time is on his side, as he sees more arms and more money for Syria in the future. Still, this does not exclude smaller campaigns, like trying to dislodge the Israelis from their strategic positions in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

Saudi Arabia is off limits. Assad is not ready to tackle the center of Sunni orthodoxy if he can get the benefits of oil income without risks. Merely by remaining a threat, he can probably increase his annual protection fee. The Syrian dictator may not have studied Colbert, but he has learned how to pluck the goose to obtain the largest amount of

feathers without causing undue hissing.

This leaves Iraq, a delightful target for Syria, with costs that are not too great and with all kinds of benefits — geopolitical, ideological, religious and pecuniary (oil money).

Syria is Iran's most steadfast ally in the war started by Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi dictator. Now that Iraq has received new chips, French missiles and planes Ayatollah Khomeini may want to cash in his chips.

Rather than block the Straits of Hormuz, interrupt Gulf shipping, and risk the ire of the United States and other oil consumers, why not have Syria start a second front and take over Iraq? Iran could get the southern oil fields around Basra and the Shi'ite, Khomeini-supporting Iraqis, while Assad could have the northern oil fields around Kirkuk and a lot of Kurdish people.

After all, Iraq was just another British invention designed to provide a throne for another deserving Hashemite princeling.

RELIGIOUS factors play an important role in the Middle East. Saddam Hussein, who is a Sunni, rules over a restive Shi'ite majority; it would identify with Assad, who is a member of the Alawi sect, a Shi'ite faction.

The ideological factor is also quite strong. Hafez al-Assad, the leader of the Syrian Baathist party, hates Saddam Hussein, the leader of the Iraqi Baathist party. It's hard to know who is the keeper of the "true" ideology of this curious mixture of non-religious Arab nationalism-marcism. Anyway, Assad generally refers to Hussein as the "butcher of Baghdad," in memory of some dozens of Iraqi Baathists, all of them Hussein's former colleagues and "best friends," whom Hussein brutally eliminated.

It's hard to tell which of the two is

the more successful butcher, although Assad seems to be in numbers — if we don't count 100,000 or so who have been killed in Hussein's little Iranian adventure.

BUT THE MAIN benefit of money. Even if Iran and Syria simply to split Iraq's oil resources, Assad would end up with some 1 million barrels per day of export worth \$15 billion per year. This come would make Syria a power to be reckoned with, and in turn a threat to all its neighbours — namely to Jordan and Lebanon, even to Israel. Turkey and the Arab Gulf states.

Well before then, Assad should be able to divert to himself if protection money the Gulf states are now paying to Iraq, as well as the PLO and Jordan, making him richer and even more powerful.

In conjunction with Libya, Assad could even pose a threat to Egypt. He draws up his proposals to the Soviet Union for more arms shipments.

But Assad is not home clearly. The Palestinians may cause him some grief: they are, after all, accomplished terrorists, albeit longer with a base. The Sunnis which form the majority of Arab and the Moslem Brotherhood wiped out in Hama but all elsewhere, may trip him up. And the Israeli stand fast on Jebel Barud in the Bekaa within shelling of Damascus.

We would be wise in encouraging them to remain there.

Professor Singer is a member of the Eric Policy Studies Center of the University of Virginia. He was a Senior Fellow at Heritage Foundation in Washington D.C. He served as a U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Interior and published extensively on Middle East oil problems.

## TWO VIEWS OF LEBANON: Gamble with death

By RUTH SINAI

roam Israeli-occupied South Lebanon.

"They really hated us," said an Israeli soldier who was hauling mattresses out of the empty tents and loading them on a truck.

Aluf Ori Orr, head of Israel's Northern Command, said that many of the released inmates have "malicious intent" and that if they took up terrorist activities, they would be jailed.

BUT NOW Ansar is empty. Israeli soldiers, wearing gas masks and car-

rying canisters of disinfectant, were delousing the tents.

Maintenance work continues on the earthworks around the camp. Senior officers here say they do not know what will become of Ansar, where Israel invested an estimated 10 million shekels in October to try to make it escape-proof.

Some military officers predict the former prisoners will not engage in anti-Israeli activity, "but it's enough if just a hundred do to give us a serious problem," said one officer. A Western diplomat who asked

not to be named said he doubted they agreed that "there was a lot of doctrination, but we never military training" in the camp.

Ansar was Israel's first large-scale experience with detention of terrorists: "We had to learn and learn fast. Until Ansar, virtually the dialogue we had with terrorists through a rifle barrel," said an Israeli officer at the camp.

He said 10 prisoners died by three when an Israeli rifle went accidentally, four would-be escapees who were crushed by a bulldozer while crouching in a tunnel they had dug, one suspected former forced by fellow inmates to drink disinfectant, one stabbed in dispute with another inmate over guitar and one shot in the head while trying to flee.

Only five inmates succeeded in escaping Ansar, the officer added only as suspects came out fully

fledged terrorists. The Israeli officer agreed that "there was a lot of doctrination, but we never military training" in the camp.

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## Price of peace

By DAVID ROGERS

vehicles and pedestrians can cross at only two points along the 113-km. line, and the process can take hours.

THE AWALI LINE is, to some observers, increasingly taking on the appearance and atmosphere of a frontier.

Trucks and cars stretch back for kilometres on the northern side, waiting to be waved forward for searching by Arabic-speaking soldiers of the IDF Border Police. Every night, drivers camp out by their lorries so they will be at the front of the queue when the line reopens the following day.

Rows of taxis wait either side of

the Awali Bridge, the main crossing point, to pick up travellers who walk across.

Pedestrians show Lebanese-issued identity cards to the soldiers. "All we really want to know from the identity cards is whether they are Lebanese or Palestinians," said an Israeli army officer called Rafi. Palestinians, who make up around 10 per cent of the 600,000 to 800,000 population of south Lebanon, are allowed to cross the line only with special permission.

Since several thousand Palestinians were freed from Ansar detention camp, Israel has "beefed up all aspects of our security systems," said Seren Shaul Segal, an

army spokesman in Sidon. "We are on maximum-level alert."

Driving through the villages, one sees men wearing the blue-and-white track suits and gym shoes that were issued by the Red Cross to those released from Ansar. The word "Ansar" has been spray-painted on some buildings.

"There has been a radicalization of the atmosphere, less willingness to cooperate with us," said Segal.

THE NEW Israeli security measures go beyond extra road checks, patrols and the thick earth ramparts that now guard every army post.

Intelligence gathering has been extended, and homes have been searched for weapons. "Certain things have been nipped in the bud," Segal added.

The army says none of the freed Ansar prisoners has been re-arrested, and it is too early to see

whether their release will lead to real deterioration in security.

"Our problem is how to maintain a high level of security without inflicting hardship on resident Segal said.

Citrus growers who need to transport fruit north of the Awali have been issued with permits to enable them to jump the queues at the crossing points.

Other regular travellers can apply for the two-month permits. Army officers said fewer than expected had asked for them, apparently because of anti-Israeli feeling.

In the early days of the war Lebanon last year, Israeli soldiers shopped and dined out in south Lebanon. "All that is out of town now. Serving in Lebanon I become both more boring and more dangerous," said a 22-year-old lieutenant.

(Reuters News Service)

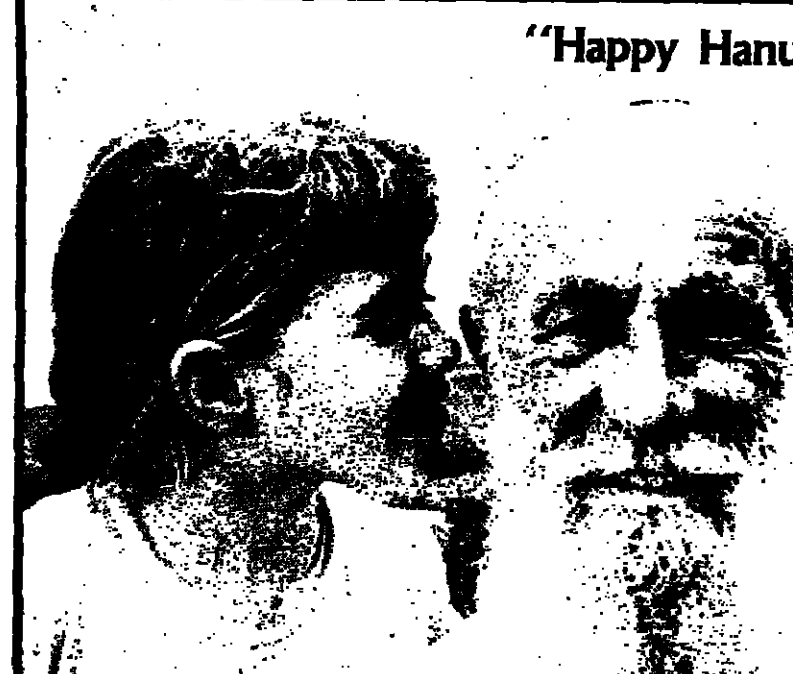
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